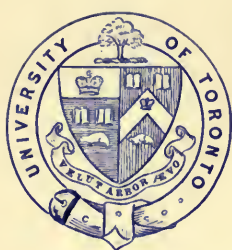




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JOHN CAPGRAVE'S
BOOK
OF
THE ILLUSTRIOUS HENRIES.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE





Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

THE SEALS OF THE AUSTIN FRIARY AT LYNN.

2426b

THE BOOK
OF
THE ILLUSTRIOUS HENRIES,

BY JOHN CAPGRAVE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

BY THE REV.

FRANCIS CHARLES HINGESTON, M.A.

OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

LONDON

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS.

1858.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR JOHN ROMILLY
MASTER OF THE ROLLS
ETC. ETC. ETC.

THIS WORK
IS
BY HIS KIND PERMISSION

Dedicated

BY HIS HONOUR'S MOST OBEDIENT
AND VERY FAITHFUL SERVANT

FRANCIS CHARLES HINGESTON.



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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE town of Lynn stands on the east side of the mouth of the Ouse. It has been called Lynn Regis since the time of Henry the Eighth: before, it had been called Lynn Episcopi, or Bishop's Lynn. It is a very interesting place, and still retains many proofs of its importance in the Middle Ages, in its five Churches, its noble old gates, and in the remnants of its once numerous Monasteries.

Here, in April 1393, John Capgrave was born. This he tells us himself, in his Chronicle of England:¹ "in this 3ere," he writes, "in the xxi. day of Aprile, was that Frere bore wech mad these Annotaciones." Nothing is now known of his family or parentage, but it is clear that some of his relations were, like himself, Augustinians, for he tells us, in the Prologue to his Metrical Life of S. Katharine:—

King's
Lynn.

Sketch of
the life of
Capgrave.

"If ye wil wete what that I am,

Myn cuntre is Northfolk, of the toune of Lynne:

Oute of the world, to my profite, I cam,

¹ See p. 259.

Sketch of
the life of
Capgrave.

Onto the brotherhode wiche I am inne.
God yave me grace nevere for to blynne
To folwe the steppes of my faderes before,
Wiche to the reule of Austyn were swore."¹

Capgrave appears to have spent his early years in his native town, devoting himself to his books, sticking to them—to use the words of Leland—like a limpet to its rock. In due time he was sent to Cambridge, where he completed his education. But he must have afterwards migrated to Oxford, at which University, Pamphilus says, he took the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, and expounded the Old and the New Testament publicly in the Schools.

He entered the priesthood in 1417, when he had attained his twenty-fourth year. Five years afterwards we find him in London, visiting probably his brother Augustinians, and engaged in the prosecution of his studies. "I heard," he writes, "the voice of the Churches, and the ringing of bells, when the birth of our King² was made known in London; for I was studying there, in the fourth or fifth year after I was raised to the priesthood, and the rejoicing of the people has not yet faded from my memory."³

After this, he appears to have returned to Lynn, and to have spent many years in the quiet retirement of the Austin Friary there, of which he was so long a distinguished ornament, devoting his time to the compilation of the annals of his country, and the preparation of Commenta-

¹ See the *Chronicle of England*,
p. 353.

² Henry VI.

³ See p. 146.

ries on almost every part of Holy Scripture, for the use of theological students.¹

Sketch of
the life of
Capgrave.

But he was not suffered to remain long undisturbed in this state of comparative obscurity; as early as the year 1445, he was chosen to fill the office of Provincial of his Order in England, and we still possess records of some of his proceedings in this capacity. The following is extracted from Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*:² — "Anno MCCCCLVI.; 34, 35, Hen. VI. The Convent of Augustin Friars, built near the present site of Wadham College, in

¹ A list of those eight works of Capgrave of which MSS. are still extant will be found at p. 221 of the present volume. The names of the others are as follows:—

1. A Commentary on Exodus.
2. On Leviticus.
3. On Numbers.
4. On Deuteronomy.
5. On Joshua.
6. On the Books of Judges and Ruth.
7. On the Books of the Kings.
8. On the Psalter.
9. On Ecclesiastes.
10. On Isaiah.
11. On Daniel.
12. On the Twelve Minor Prophets.
13. On the Gospels.
14. On the Epistles of S. Paul, in fourteen Books.
15. On the Revelation.
16. A Manual of Christian Doctrine.
17. On the Canonical Epistles, in seven Books.
18. On the Followers of S. Augustin.
19. On the Sentences of Peter Lombard.

20. Theological Conclusions.
21. Against Erroneous Positions.
22. Addresses to the Clergy.
23. Sermons for a Year.
24. Of certain Illustrious Men of the Order of S. Augustin.
25. The Life of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.
26. Scholastic Lectures.
27. Ordinary Disputations.
28. Letters to several of his Friends.
29. The Life of S. Augustin.
30. The Life of S. Gilbert of Sempringham.

That these were all works of considerable learning and value we may safely infer from the others which still remain to us. Certainly they won for their Author great celebrity. "He was the most learned by far," Bale tells us, "of all the Augustinians, the principal philosopher and theologian of his day, illustrious alike for his abilities, and for his great eloquence." And Leland says that he was "among the Augustinians, πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων."

² See vol. ii. pp. 399-401, Bandinel's edition.

Sketch of
the life of
Capgrave.

Oxford, had been founded by the liberality and interest of Sir John Handlo, of Borstall, who had bequeathed his body to be buried in that place, and was reputed their founder. Upon which title Edmund Rede, Esquire, the present lord of Borstall, proving his lineal descent from the said Sir John Handlo, was accepted as their founder and patron, and so recognised by John Stocton, Prior, and the brethren of that convent, with the consent of John Capgrave, Provincial of their Order." The deed is then given in full: it is in Latin, and was witnessed by several of the authorities of the University and the Town.¹ A copy of another document, also under the seal of Capgrave when Provincial, is given in Appendix V. to the *Chronicle of England*, page 370, *note*.

Beyond these few facts we know very little of our Author, and that little he tells us himself. In the English Chronicle we find nothing beyond the mention of the day and year of his birth. In the present work, under the year 1399,² he writes (speaking of the marriage of the Princess Philippa, daughter of Henry the Fourth), "I saw the only daughter of this most excellent King, in the Town of Lynn, where she went on board the ship in which she left England, and went to be married to the King of Norway." He tells us, too, that when Henry the Sixth

¹ Their names were:—

"Robert, Prior of S. Frideswide, Oxford.

"Richard, Master of the Hospital of S. John without the East Gate.

"Master Thomas Chaundler, Warden of New College.

"Master John Brether, and Mas-

ter Robert Abdy, Proctors of the University of Oxford.

"Robert Attewode, Mayor of the Town of Oxford.

"Richard Spragett.

"John Lowe."

² See p. 117.

laid the foundation-stone of the College at Eton, he was present, a witness of the King's devotion.¹ He was probably also present at the founding of King's College, Cambridge, and William Millington, its first Provost, he says, was one of his personal friends.² Again, in the account of Henry the Sixth's visit to the Austin Friary at Lynn, Capgrave was amongst those who received him, and, indeed, appears to have acted as spokesman on the occasion.³ The Beaumonts had large possessions in Norfolk, and seem to have been friendly to Capgrave. In his life of Henry de Beaumont,⁴ he says that, chief among the illustrious Henries, it delights him to leave a record of those of the name of Beaumont, since he "was their servant, and bound to their race by special affection." Again in the Prologue to his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, he mentions that he once paid a visit to Rome, adding that he was taken ill during his stay there, and in his illness was very kindly treated by William Gray, Bishop of Lincoln, who happened to be there at the same time.

And this is all: the records of the deeds of this great man, like so many of his works, have perished. Nor do we know much more of the "Place of the Hermit Friars of S. Augustin, at Lynn." Of its origin and gradual rise, Capgrave gives us an account himself in the present volume,⁵ and mentions the number of its inmates in 1446. It stood at the north end of the Town, on the south side of Hopman's Way,⁶ which extends eastward from Lister-gate

Sketch of
the life of
Capgrave.

¹ See p. 153.

² See p. 154.

³ See pp. 158-161.

⁴ See p. 196.

⁵ See p. 159.

⁶ Or Hogman's Lane, as it was sometimes called, and now Austin Street.

Sketch of
the life of
Capgrave.

Street towards the East Gate, and not far from S. Nicholas Church. But the site is now divided among different owners, and the ancient buildings have all been swept away.¹

John Capgrave died at Lynn, on the 12th day of August, A.D. 1464, at the age of seventy years.² He was buried in the choir of the Church of his own Monastery.

The Seals
of the Au-
gustinians
of Lynn.

The Frontispiece contains exact representations of three out of the four ancient seals of the Augustinians of Lynn. They have been engraved from impressions, unfortunately somewhat mutilated, attached to two acquittances, or receipts for money paid to the Prior and Convent, in the possession of the Town Clerk of Lynn,³ which bear date 1382.

Fig 1. The Common Seal of the Convent, two inches in

¹ With the exception of a fragment of the old gateway, now bricked up. The buildings are stated to have been extensive and magnificent; and they were honoured more than once by royal visits. Capgrave himself tells us of one—that of Henry VI. in 1446. “Among the notable events in the Annals of this Convent,” says Taylor, in his interesting and useful work on the Antiquities of Lynn, “was the entertainment given to King Henry VII., his Queen, his Mother, and his eldest son, Prince Arthur, who, with a numerous retinue, visited Lynn in 1498, and were here lodged: the fact of its being chosen for this honourable distinction proves that it must have been a sumptuous edifice.” This house was surrendered to the King by the Prior and four Brethren on the 30th Sept., 1539, 30 Hen. VIII.,

by whom it was granted to John Eyre. — Dugd. Monast. vi. page 1594. (London: 1830.)

² Pamphilus (who is followed in his error by Pits) states that he died in 1484, at the age of ninety, but there is no ground for supposing that he was alive in the reign of Richard the Third, and there can be no doubt that the date given in the text, on the authority of Bale and Leland, is the correct one.

³ The facsimiles were made in gutta percha by Mr. Ready, the well-known sigillarist of Lowestoft, whose magnificent collection of Royal, Episcopal, Conventual, and Private Seals is well worthy of the careful investigation of every Antiquary. The Editor is indebted to E. Lane Swatman, Esq., Town Clerk of Lynn, for some useful particulars relating to the Lynn Seals.

length, by one inch and a quarter in width. Both ends of the impression have been broken away.¹ It represents a boat, in which is a figure of S. Margaret, trampling upon a dragon, and holding a Cross in her right hand. On either side a monk is kneeling. The legend is as follows:—S. COMVNE ERMT SCI AVGI LENNE.²

The Seals
of the Au-
gustinians
at Lynn.

Fig. 2. The Seal of the Provincial of the Order. It represents the Blessed Virgin, bearing in her arms the Holy Child, and surrounded by stars. On either side is an angel holding a censer. Beneath are kneeling monks, and above, the remains of a figure holding a book. The remains of the Legend are as follows:— NCIAL . . . AR ORDIS SCI AVGVSTINI³

Fig. 3. This must have been a very handsome Seal, but the impression is much injured, and the Legend destroyed with the exception of two words — SCI AVGVSTINI. It contains a Throne, on which is seated a Figure, intended to represent the Eternal FATHER, bearing on His knees the Crucified CHRIST. The principal Figure is much mutilated; but the Crucifix (which is of small dimensions) is nearly

¹ The seals have been restored to their original size in the engravings: this, of course, was exactly indicated by the remains of the vesica in each case. The lines of the breakages are, however, carefully marked.

² The inscription, written in full, would be:—“SIGILLUM COMMUNE EREMITARUM [ORDINIS] SANCTI AUGUSTINI LENNE. — The third word is doubtful: the letters appear to be ERMT., but they may be FRAT., which would stand for FRATRUM, and both readings are equally good.

The last word also is not quite clear: it is probably LENNE, but the fourth letter may be an I, and the word LENIE.

³ The Legend in full would be:—SIGILLUM PATRIS PROVINCIALIS EREMITARUM ORDINIS SANCTI AUGUSTINI. This seal is peculiarly interesting, as it was afterwards in the possession of Capgrave, and, without doubt, was continually used by him when he was Provincial of the Order.

The Seals
of the Au-
gustinians
at Lynn.

perfect. The Throne is ornamented with a pretty diaper pattern, and beneath it, under a trefoil-headed arch, are two figures of Monks kneeling, with hands clasped, as in prayer.

4. The Prior's Seal.¹ This seal contains a kind of two-light window, with trefoil-headed lights formed by small circular shafts, with capitals and bases. In the small tracery opening is a human head. In one of the lights is a crowned figure of S. Margaret, trampling upon the dragon, and in the other a figure of a monk, kneeling to her in prayer. The remains of the Legend run thus :—S PRIORIS . . . TA . . OR . . SCI AVG LENIL.

Of the ex-
tant MSS.
of this
work :—

MS. Cot-
ton.

The MS. from which the Latin Text of the present Work is taken is preserved in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum, Tiberius A. VIII. It is beautifully written upon vellum, and richly illuminated, and is supposed to have been the Dedication Copy given to King Henry the Sixth. It consists of one hundred and one leaves; but many of these were seriously damaged in the fire which destroyed so many MSS. of that collection.²

¹ An outline sketch of this seal, and of Nos. 1 and 2, is given in Taylor's *Antiquities of Lynn*, which was published in 1844. It is the least ancient of all the seals, and probably of little earlier date than the document to which it is attached, viz. 1382, as the perpendicular element is visible in the tracery. The other three are apparently coeval with the foundation of the monastery in 1294. The Legend of this seal is much mutilated. The second word is PRIORIS, and the restored inscription would be :—SIGILLUM PRIORIS EREMITARUM ORDINIS SANCTI

AUGUSTINI LENIL. For an account of the very handsome Town Seal, and the private seal of the Mayor of Lynn, see the notes to the Introduction to the Latin Text; see also Taylor's *Antiquities*, where these and some other curious Lynn Seals are engraved.

² A beautiful facsimile of one page of this MS. is given as a Frontispiece in the Latin Edition. It represents the page in which the account of the reign of Henry the Fifth commences, and the handsome illuminated letter at the beginning of the chapter contains a representation of that King.

The words and sentences, however, which have perished MS. have been restored from the duplicate MS. which is pre- C. C. C. served among those given by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This is a small quarto, and undoubtedly the Author's autograph, as will be seen on reference to some of the notes, especially those at pp. 209, 210, 214.

The work itself is of considerable interest and value, and has never before been printed. One chapter, indeed, the ninth of the Third Part, and certainly one of the most curious and remarkable in the book, was published by Henry Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*; and the greater part of the work was transcribed for Mr. Petrie, who had selected it for publication in his "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*."

It is not necessary to enlarge in this place on the contents¹ of this Chronicle or on the circumstances under which it was written: the reader will find the subject fully discussed in the Introduction to the Latin Text. Of its historical value, whether we regard it as a commentary on the writings of earlier Chroniclers, or as itself conveying to our knowledge new facts, the reader will be able with-

¹ Mistakes in facts are few: there is, however, one great blunder in the account of the reign of the Emperor Henry the Fourth, which requires explanation. Henry began to reign in 1056: Capgrave is, therefore, in error, when (see p. 28) he places in his time the Popes Benedict IX. (A.D. 1033), Gregory VI. (A.D. 1044), and Clement II. (A.D. 1046), and the events connected with the Great Schism. In consequence of this

mistake, he confounds Gregory VI. (John Graziano, the Archpriest) with Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), who was elected in 1073, and by whom Henry IV. was excommunicated (see p. 30), making them identical, and taking no account of the six Popes who held the Holy See between the resignation of Benedict IX., in 1048, and the election of Hildebrand in 1073.

MS.
C. C. C.

out difficulty to form his own opinion according to his own view; of its general interest as a good specimen of an historical work of the fifteenth century there can be no doubt.

The Trans-
lation.

In preparing to offer this work to the English reader in an English dress, the Translator has endeavoured to avoid the opposite errors of being too literal on the one hand, or of using too much freedom on the other. His rule has been to render his book readable, by avoiding too servile an adherence to the stiffness of his author's style, and, at the same time, to preserve in some degree its characteristic quaintness and simplicity. The Notes and the very full Index will, it is hoped, be found sufficiently to explain all the obscurities of the original text. Among the former occur numerous quotations from the same Author's *Chronicle of England*, which are sometimes illustrative of, and sometimes supplementary to, the facts herein recorded, and which will, without doubt, be regarded as valuable additions to the interest and usefulness of the volume.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD:

June 24th, 1858.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE ILLUSTRIOUS HENRIES.

ERRATA.

Page 30, line 29, *for* Brescia, *read* Brixen.

Page 153, line 21, *for* does, *read* dost.

JOHN CAPGRAVE'S
HISTORY
OF
THE ILLUSTRIOUS HENRIES.

DEDICATION.¹

To Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France and lord of Ireland, his humble servant, Brother John Capgrave, the least of Doctors, and the meanest of the poor Brethren of Saint Augustin, firm power, prosperous counsel, and settled rule.

Dedication
to Hen. VI.

That Almighty Word, which came from the royal throne,² according to the Wise Man, is a stern opponent of those who, ruling with cruel mind, oppress and chastise their

¹ The Latin Text, of which the present volume is a translation, is taken from a MS. preserved in the Cottonian Collection, in the British Museum, and collated with that in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the only extant

MSS. of this work. In all cases of allusion to these MSS. in subsequent notes, the abbreviations "MS. Cotton," and "MS. C.C.C.," have been respectively used.

² Wisdom, xviii. 15.

Dedication to Hen. VI. subjects with a rod of iron. This the Psalmist declares in that place where he says:—"How terrible is He among all the kings of the earth."¹

But, yet, to those who have been brought up in the fear of God, and judge their peoples in truth, being appointed among them as if of them, to them is fulfilled that same Word, in the prophecy of the holy patriarch Jacob:—"A fat bread yielding dainties unto kings."² And as, according to the desires of the people, our king hath, from his earliest days, flourished in inborn piety, so that of him may most truly be affirmed that saying of the blessed Job,— "Forasmuch as from infancy pity hath grown up with me, and from my mother's womb hath gone forth with me,"³ he, rightfully, inebriated with the sweetness of the Word, will cast down those who are jealous of peace, and all good things will submissively and as of their own choice come to him, as to a true son of peace. For in this people are fulfilled that which of old, when he was dying, Moses himself said should be fulfilled in the children of Israel:—"Let the Lord God of the spirits of all flesh," said he, "provide a man, who may be over this multitude, and who may go out and come in before them, and who may lead them out and bring them in, that the people of the Lord may not be like sheep without a shepherd."⁴

This prophecy of Moses, most glorious lord, we accept as sealed in thee, who from the very cradle hast received the government of a Kingdom and dost hold a sceptre-bearing power. To bring in or to lead out the people pertaineth

¹ Psalm lxxvi. 12.

² Genesis, xlix. 20.

³ Job, xxxi. 18.

⁴ Numbers, xxvii. 16, 17.

to thy authority, who hast chosen the best rule of conduct, and hast abhorred the craggy ways of vice. Dedication
to Hen. VI.

Therefore to thy name I have consecrated this work, beseeching that, although this present labour may not be redolent of eloquence, yet that the fidelity of his soul who presents it may give thee pleasure. In order, then, to increase thy desire to follow in the steps of the best of men, I have published this little book, in which I have gathered together from the works of the ancients the praises of those who have chanced to bear thy name, so that thou, who art crowned with this name, mayest also imitate the virtue of the name. ✓

And although this name may not be found etymologised among authors, nor even expounded, yet I, investigating the singular appropriateness of the same, believe it to have derived its origin from the Hebrew language, which is the mother of all languages. For "Hen," as say the interpreters, means "Behold the fountain," or "Behold the eye;" "Ri" or "Rei," as used interchangeably in certain codices, is "My shepherd," or "My pasture;" and "Cus," "an Æthiopian," or "Dark."

From these therefore, when they are brought together, is made such a meaning as this, that he who is crowned with this name, possesses a fountain which the hart, panting and renewing its youth, swiftly running, longs for. And cleansing also the eye of the mind from beam and mote, he will patiently await until it may be proclaimed to him as it was of old by the Lord to His Disciples:—"Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see."¹ "My shep-

¹ St. Luke, x. 23.

Dedication
to Hen. VI.

herd" or "my pasture" is joined to this name in sufficiently suitable relationship, because our king is the leader of the whole flock, not only by reason of surpassing authority, but also by the exercise of good works, and the people devoutly regarding this, devours it as food. Further, the Æthiopic darkness is referred alone to this, that I believe our king to be pure from the worst defilements, and therefore innocent and exempt, and not stained with the smoky hue of any dark colour.¹

Let not this preamble, my lord, aggrieve thy modesty. For I dared not approach such a work without some little preface, lest, drawing near irreverently, I might be repelled from such honour. For thus it is written: "He who scans majesty narrowly will be overwhelmed with glory."²

However, as a brief annotation, those things herein to be treated of I have distinguished thus: —

The First Part treats of those famous men who, bearing this name, have flourished in the Empire.

The Second of those who, with like name, have shone in regal honour in this Realm.

The Third of others following, here and elsewhere, whose names were worthy of remembrance.

Therefore my lord the king will possess in his acts the best of rules; in his faith the most firm assurance; and in judgment the safest guidance, from those men, of kindred to himself both in name and blood, who have gone before him.

¹ See "Hebraicorum Nominum interpretatio," in Bedæ Opp. iii. pp. 427; 458; 407. (Ed. 1612.)

² Proverbs, xxv. 27.

May the Lord God preserve this our king in his own honour, as also in the glory with which his Parisian mother crowned him, and his second and not less beloved London mother, to the glory of God, and the worthy memory of Rulers. For, as we piously believe, that first mother hath still in her bosom many sons well affected towards our king; nor less do we also believe that this his most famous mother will in time spew forth her foulness, and receive our king with glory. May God grant this in our time, that these two realms may live and rejoice together, according to that which the prophet Ezekiel foretold, saying:—"And there shall be one king ruling over all, and there shall not be any more two nations, nor shall they be any longer divided into two kingdoms."¹

Dedication
to Hen. VI.

May thy reign upon earth be ever established in peace. May there be also eternally prepared for thee a kingdom in the Heavenly Country, most excellent and most illustrious lord king, to the praise of our Lord Jesu Christ, Who is King of kings, and Lord of lords. Amen.²

¹ Ezekiel, xxxvii. 22.

² The Cottonian MS. of this work was seriously damaged in the disastrous fire in 1731, in which so many of that collection were injured or destroyed. Many portions

at the end are obliterated, and only the few last words of the Dedication remain. The text, however, has been made complete from the MS. C.C.C.

HISTORY
OF
THE ILLUSTRIOUS HENRIES.

THE FIRST PART OF THIS WORK CONTAINS SIX CHAPTERS, ACCORDING TO
THE EMPERORS SUCCEEDING IN THE EMPIRE.

OF HENRY THE FIRST, EMPEROR.

CHAPTER I.

ABOUT to indite imperial deeds, I hold that this is chiefly required of me,—to implore His aid, the bounds of Whose Empire the Prophet records to be so far outspread, that he says,—“His Empire, of which there shall be no end, shall be multiplied.” For whosoever may be raised to the empire of the world, and is not admitted in the Empire of the Lord, or even opposes that Empire, he, although he may have authority in a few temporal things, cannot exercise it in the end, nor will good servitude be imputed to him, inasmuch as, either ignorantly or disdainfully, he hath died, refusing to serve the Lord of lords.

The Author invokes the Divine blessing on his work.

For which cause those rulers of the world, who deserve also to be reckoned in the number of the illustrious

¹ Isaiah, ix. 7.

A.D. 918. Henries, were not blinded with the error of Paganism, nor without penitence called from the world, but were most Christian men, firm in faith, peaceful in manners, and if, through the activity of the tempter, or the allurements of the flesh, they committed any evil, they were cleansed by salutary repentance.

Of these the first, as well in time as in honour, is that man whose genealogy I deem it right first to describe.

A.D. 918.¹
Henry I.,
The
Fowler.

His father was Otho, a most valiant duke of Saxony, who subjugated to his rule the Hungarians, Slavonians, and other nations. He had two sisters; one was married to Otho, son of Athelstan, monarch of England; and the other was married to Louis, prince of Aquitaine. For this is clear, that even in its commencement the empire was connected with the kingdom of England because of the matchless deeds of the kings of that same land.

His
marriage.

The venerable lady Matilda, daughter of Theodoric, king of Saxony, was wife to that brave, praiseworthy, and magnificent lord: of her was born his son Otho, who restored to the Franks the empire which had been long usurped by the Lombards, as their deeds recorded after a somewhat lengthy fashion testify. Thus, then, with friends of his own flesh and blood spread around in every direction, he reigned prosperously, governing with prudence his own affairs as well as his people. It has been said that on the death of Louis, who held the empire, all chose Otho, the father of this Henry; who, weighed down by the cares of age, declined the honour, rather choosing to serve God than the world. They then elected Conrad, at first, who, dying in the seventh year of his reign, appointed this Henry emperor.

His accession.

Henry, then, was raised to the empire in the year of our Lord 920; and reigned prosperously eighteen years.

¹ It will be found that the Author has made several blunders in his dates, especially in the history of the Empire, all of which will be corrected

in the margin. The chronology of the Second, and more important part of this work, however, is, in the main, precise and accurate.

In the beginning of his reign he solemnly declared war against the Hungarians and other peoples, and, aided by the divine protection and a just cause, conquered them all, and enjoyed peace. For peace in this present world is not to be acquired without war; nor, indeed, is that of the future world, though after another manner. And Saint Augustin declares in many of his treatises, that a war is never justly waged except it be for the sake of obtaining peace.

A.D. 919.
His war in
Hungary.

This man also, in the third year of his reign, released from their bonds, certain thieves, brigands, and imprisoned malefactors, giving them at once both arms and money, and sent them as warriors against the foes of justice and of the empire.

A.D. 920.
He releases
prisoners,
and arms
them
against his
enemies.

On which matter a question has arisen of considerable perplexity to us,—whether Christian kings, urged by necessity, may lawfully release prisoners for the preservation of their kingdom's rights. And since my own authority is not great, we must look to the argument of Saint Thomas Aquinas, in his "*Secunda Secundæ*," Question 67, Article 4,¹ at the end; where he says:—"It is to be affirmed, as appears from what has been already stated, that, as far as pertains to our proposition, there are two things to be considered concerning a judge, one of which is that he has to adjudicate between the accuser and the accused; the other is that he does not himself deliver the judicial sentence as of his own, but as of public authority. By a twofold reason therefore the judge is debarred the power of absolving the guilty from punishment. In the first place, on the part of the accuser, to whose right it is undoubtedly essential that the guilty should be punished, to wit, on account of some injury inflicted on him, the relaxation of which punishment is not in the discretion of any judge, because every judge is bound to render justice

Quotation
from
Aquinas in
reference
to this pro-
ceeding.

¹ See S. Thomæ Aquin. Summa Theologiæ, 2^a, q. lxvii. art. iv. | p. 130. Ed. Cologne, 1604.

A.D. 920. to every person. On the other hand he is debarred, on behalf of the State, the authority of which he uses, and to the benefit of which it is essential that evil-doers should be punished. But still there is in this respect a distinction between inferior judges and the judge supreme, that is to say, the Prince to whom the public authority is committed without restriction. For an inferior judge hath not power to absolve the guilty from punishment, contrary to the laws imposed on him by a superior. Wherefore Augustin saith on that passage in the 19th of John,¹ 'Thou couldest have no power at all against Me, unless it were given thee from above;'—'such a degree of power God had given unto Pilate, that he should be so far subject to Cæsar, that he should not by any means be at liberty to release the accused.' But the Prince who has plenary power in the State, if he who hath suffered knows not how to forgive the injury,² may lawfully absolve the guilty, if he perceive that this will not be hurtful to the public welfare." Such is the opinion of S. Thomas.

The
Author
commends
the mea-
sure.

We affirm, therefore, that our king, for the welfare of the realm, might release many prisoners, who by land and by sea might boldly resist the foe; but under the charge of others. Nor is my lord ignorant concerning prisoners, what manner of men they often are, how agile, how strong, and many of them, it is said, imprisoned for very trifling causes. We must believe then that this emperor—to revert to our original subject—did not thus act without the counsel of prudent men.

A.D. 927. It is, indeed, related of this great man that he conveyed
The Sacred to his imperial possession a spear of marvellous work-
Spear.

¹ Verse 11.

² *knows not . . . injury.*] "Nescit remittere." By comparing these words with the original passage in the works of Aquinas, it will be seen that they are a mis-quotation for "velit eam remittere." Both read-

ings make good sense, though that of Capgrave is the stronger of the two, as it ascribes the power of forgiving trespasses to the king, even when the person who has suffered the injury refuses to acquiesce.

manship, sanctified by the blood of the Lord Jesus. In what manner, from the great Constantine to the present time, it has been handed down and possessed by different persons, authors thus relate. Constantine on his death-bed gave it to Rodolph, king of Burgundy. Rodolph, departing, gave it to Count Samson, from whom the pious king and emperor Henry extorted it by prayers, threats, and presents, giving him part of the province of Suabia; and he bequeathed it to posterity as an ensign and protection of the empire. These things were done in the tenth year of his reign. A.D. 927.

Oh, how great the devotion of this soldier of Christ, who so ardently sought that weapon by which, through the open ark, peace flew forth, and again returning to it brought back the olive of peace! For the door in the side of the ark which Noah made, signifies, as authors tell us, the wound in the side of Christ. It becomes kings, indeed, to seek and search out such ensigns as this, and to place them where they can be seen of all, for the increase of the Faith and the augmentation of piety.

Now in what manner, or by what persons, this spear was preserved, or where deposited, cannot readily be discovered. But the writer who describes the troubles that took place in Jerusalem about the year of our Lord 1096, records that the spear of the Lord was found at Antioch, in the presence of that Count Godfrey, who afterwards was made king of Jerusalem. For he writes as follows:¹ — “In this expedition,” he says, “before the taking of Antioch, Saint Andrew appeared to a certain simple rustic, saying, ‘Come, I will show thee the spear wherewith the side of Jesus Christ was pierced.’ And the rustic, in the presence of the whole city, of Count Godfrey, and of his chaplain, assembled in the church of Saint Peter, on digging in the spot of which he had received revelation, found the spear. But when many doubted whether it were indeed the spear

¹ See “Martini Poloni Chronicon.” (Cologne, 1616), Chap. clxviii.

A.D. 927. of Christ, a certain man, named Bartholomew, to whom Christ appeared and certified the identity of the spear, passed unhurt, bearing the spear, through the midst of a fire thirteen feet in length." This account is extracted from the author mentioned above.

Submission
of Charles
III. of
France.

Of the aforesaid emperor it is also read that Charles, who was then king of France, yielded up himself and his kingdom to him in perpetuity; and, as a sign and pledge of perpetual covenant, he sent him an arm of Dionysius the martyr, inclosed in gold and gems. And since many persons deem it unseemly that the arms or limbs of the Saints should be cut off when they are dead and given away, we, following the example of the Fathers, think it proper enough, provided they be not sold, but be freely given to those who have great devotion towards those Saints. And hence we read of what in like manner Pope Leo the Fourth did:—"After previous fasting," he says,¹ "and long prayer, our lord the Pope gave to Charlemagne part of the Lord's Crown, and of the Thorn, which there-upon blossomed in his sight, and one of the nails of the Lord's Passion, and part of the Lord's Cross, also the Lord's napkin, and the Blessed Virgin's shift, and lastly an arm of Saint Simeon." If, then, it were not agreeable to the Saints that their several limbs should be transferred to various churches for the promotion of the Faith and the increase of holiness, I hold that those who sever, or give, or carry away those relics would not pass unpunished, especially as we often see punishment fall on those who have robbed them of their temporal possessions.

A.D. 934.
War with
Russia.

In the seventeenth year of this man's reign, Niger, king of Russia, came to meet him, and solemnly declared war against him. And when there was a large number of vessels on the enemy's side, the great Sovereign, the emperor Henry, burnt the vessels by throwing Greek fire

¹ See Martinus Polonus, chap. lxxiy.

among them; and the other, thus confounded and subdued, A.D. 934.
withdrew.

Of this Henry, Godfrey of Viterbo, in his Chronicle Godfrey of
Viterbo
quoted.
called the Pantheon,¹ writes as follows : —

“Henry, the Saxon king, is called to reign,
[And legates sent to summon him; but he]²
Would not accept the empire duly given.
They found him sitting like a veteran,
Completing by the fowler’s art his snares,
That by deceit he might entrap some birds.
And as before them he was but a fowler,
He thenceforth bears the surname of ‘The Fowler.’
But when the world possessed this noble lord,
When, further, he is sought to govern Rome,
He swears that he will never wear a crown,
Since his own riches are enough for him.
Yet must he bear the title of a king;
As king, at length, be solemnly annointed :
But still no crown was placed upon his head.
Only before him was the diadem borne,
To make him mindful of his kingly oath;
And all the signs of royalty he wears.
The first king Otho of this king is sprung,
[Whose matchless deeds I fain would celebrate;]
Now of three Othos the Muse bids me tell.”

¹ See “*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*,” vii. col. 431.

² The lines enclosed in brackets,
in this and subsequent extracts from

the Pantheon, are omitted in the
text of Capgrave, and have been
supplied among the various readings
in the printed edition.

OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY THE SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 936. Now when Henry the First was dead, there succeeded to him, in turn, three Othos, according to the Chronicles of Godfrey of Viterbo,¹ and of Vincent of Beauvais.² But Martin,³ in his Chronicle, places Lothaire and Berenger between this said Henry and the first Otho. And he states also that the said Henry was not emperor of Rome, but only of Germany, because he died before he could possess the Roman throne. But I have preferred to follow those learned men who reckon him as clearly the first emperor.

A.D. 1002. Whence they also affirm that in the year of our Lord
Henry II., the Lame. 1003, Otho the Third dying without issue, Henry the Lame, son of Besilio, a Norican by nation, and King of Norica and Bavaria, was unanimously elected by all the princes of the kingdom. He was anointed by a religious man, the archbishop of Mayence, and he reigned twenty-two years. He began to reign, as has been stated, in the year of our Lord 1003.

His treat- One of his first acts was to put down some very powerful
ment of men of his kingdom, who were desirous to kindle war
rebels. against him, and to make tributary the kings of the nations

¹ See "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores," vii. col. 431.

² See his "Speculum Historiale," (Venice, 1591,) Bk. xxiv. fol. 339, b.

³ See "Martini Poloni Chronicon." chapters lxxxv.—lxxxix.

dwelling in the interior of Germany. For it is good and profitable for kings, in the commencement of their sovereignty, to chastise rebels, lest by long toleration of the wicked, they may themselves harass, by force of numbers and by malice, the paths of justice, as long as they are not checked. And though, according to some writers, it most becomes kings to possess mercy, still it must not be of that kind which both spares and indulges open crimes. For it is a trite proverb, that "Justice without mercy is cruelty, and mercy without justice, folly." A.D. 1004.

In proof of which, even the peaceful Solomon either punished with death those who conspired against his kingdom, and disturbed the peace, or compelled them to remain in their own abodes, and not to wander about among the people. This appears from the third Book of Kings,¹ (as I have more plainly declared there,) but now only refer to my literal commentary.² Adonijah, who had violated Abishag, the wife of David, that so he might aspire to the kingdom, was put to death with the sanction of Solomon.³ Abiathar, the priest, because he had borne the ark before his father when he was in exile, was deprived of the priesthood only, and commanded to dwell in Anathoth.⁴ Joab was slain, holding the horn of the altar, because he had treacherously murdered the two princes, Abner and Amasa.⁵ Shimei was forbidden to pass the gates of Jerusalem, that so, at the first opportunity, he might be slain.⁶

Many things ought to be noted here, did time permit, as to punishing the wicked,—the person, the time, and the circumstances. But, because my lord possesses sufficiently acute observation, and a most ready understanding, it is not necessary for me to dwell much on these matters.

¹ That is, the First Book of Kings, ch. ii.

² See the List of Capgrave's works given in Introduction to the Printed Edition of his English Chronicle.

³ 1 Kings, ii. 25.

⁴ Ibid. ii. 26.

⁵ Ibid. ii. 34.

⁶ Ibid. ii. 46.

A.D. 1003.
S. Cunegund, wife
of Hen. II.

The wife of this Henry, who was called Saint Cunegund, was descended from illustrious parents, and shone brightly with a character still more illustrious. For, by mutual consent, they remained virgins, occupied in holy duties; and, since they remained virgins, in the church of Bamberg, which they built and where they repose, they shine with glorious miracles.

Anecdote
of Gregory
Nazianzen.

O how pleasant is it to think of those glad days when such chastity was preserved between those who were not bound to chastity! And how grievous to behold those shameless ones who have thrown away all profession of modesty! O how honourable the memory of Josaphath, Alexis, Crisantus, of whom one altogether shunned the embraces of women; the second broke his girdle and ring, and delivered them up to his bride, submitting himself to a perpetual pilgrimage; the other abhorred the kisses of women even as the bites of serpents, and all this not without reason, if they have attained true wisdom, who have loved the sister of Wisdom, especially since Wisdom and Chastity are tied together by an indissoluble bond. Hence also, in the Preface to the Apology of Gregory Nazianzen, it is thus recorded of him:—At the time when he was eminent at Athens for his philosophical studies, he saw in a dream two very lovely women, who seated themselves beside him, one on his right hand, the other on his left, as he was sitting and reading. And he, regarding them, demanded of them who they were, and what they wanted. But they embraced him very familiarly, and said:—“Be not annoyed, young man; we are very good friends of thine; for one of us is called Wisdom, the other Chastity; and we have been sent to dwell with thee, because thou hast prepared in thy heart an acceptable dwelling for thy God.” These things are said in commendation of the chastity which shone forth so conspicuously in this man and his wife.

Henry's
munifi-
cence to
the Church.

He was zealous in the erection of holy places; for, besides many churches and monasteries which he founded, he erected one church and bishopric, as the records of his

deeds testify, wherein is contained the following:¹—"After A.D. 1003. many wars," it states, "which he waged in Germany, Bohemia, and Italy, being desirous to serve God, as he was a most devout Christian, he consecrated a church and episcopate at Bamberg, where he gave himself up to fervent prayers and continual religious exercises." It was customary, in that age, for kings to construct churches, and to provide for the necessities of religious men; and they themselves then abounded affluently in all riches. Nor do we read that kings who were the founders of churches were ever smitten with poverty. The reader may recur to past times, and especially to kings of our nation, Edgar and Athelstan, and others, the first of whom is said to have erected forty churches for monks and nuns; while the other maintained such devotion towards the church, that once, when he was fighting, a sword from heaven was seen to fall into his empty scabbard.² The remembrance of these things might surely induce kings and princes to love churches, as this venerable Henry has afforded to them a manifest example, and not to rob them.

Moreover, among other virtuous deeds, he gave his sister in marriage to Stephen, king of Hungary; on which occasion both King Stephen and all his nation were converted from the errors of Paganism unto the Faith of Christ. This Stephen, who is revered as a Saint among his own people to the present day, is held in such great veneration because he was the first of that nation that received baptism. From this circumstance a great lesson may be drawn for men in the present day, that if any king or prince desires to take a wife from another nation, he should do so for the sake of spreading the Faith, or of establishing peace and concord, forasmuch as these are just

A.D. 1008.
Conversion
of Stephen
I. of Hun-
gary.

¹ See Godfrey of Viterbo, the Pantheon, col. 437, E.

² The reading in the MS. C.C.C. has been adopted for the words

"Was seen to fall," etc. The reading in the MS. Cotton. is "vaginam suam vacuum tradidisse visus est."

A.D. 1024: motives, since, in such cases, either the Faith is exalted, or strife is turned into love.

Extract
from God-
frey of
Viterbo.

The above-mentioned Godfrey of Viterbo thus in verse concludes his account of this great man:—

“Of Henry called the Lame hear the reward;
[For worthy he of fame whose praise I sing:]
Snatch'd from his earthly home he reigns in Heaven.
With a virgin wife, himself remain'd a virgin.
A thousand Christian Churches he erected:
The hope, the stay of all the destitute:
Now in his altar-tomb his bones lie bless'd,
And duly honour'd with most solemn rites:
There many bodies of the sick are heal'd.”¹

¹ See the Pantheon, col. 439, B.

OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY THE THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY the Third, son of Count Leopold and of Gisilia, the eighty-ninth from Augustus, began to reign in the year of our Lord 1045,¹ and reigned sixteen years; in whom the imperial dignity, which during a long time had been banished, severed from the race of Charlemagne, was restored to it through his mother Gisilia.

A.D. 1039.
Henry III.,
the Black.

Now in what manner he came to the empire, and by what wonderful event he was elevated, authors thus briefly state. In the time of Conrad the Third, a certain duke, named Leopold, who had broken the peace, and feared the King Conrad, bidding farewell to all his riches, and taking a few necessaries, with his wife Gisilia, (who was descended of French race,) fled to a forest, and lay concealed in a certain subterranean cave. Now it happened on a subsequent day that the emperor entered into this forest for the purpose of hunting, and, night coming on, necessity compelled him to take up his abode in the same hut. And his hostess, the countess, who was pregnant and near to her time of delivery, prepared a bed for him as decently as she could, and ministered all things necessary. And, indeed, that same night she brought forth a son. And Conrad the emperor heard three times a voice coming to him, and saying:—"Conrad, this boy who is just born

His early
history.

¹ This date is incorrect; Conrad the Salique died in 1039, and was

succeeded in the same year by Henry III.

A.D. 1039. shall be thy son-in-law and thy successor." The emperor rose early in the morning, and called his squires unto him secretly, and said,— "Go, and snatch away this young child by force from the hands of his mother, and when you have cut him in two, bring to me his heart." But when they saw that he was of most graceful beauty, they were moved with compassion, and placed the boy in a tree, that he might not be devoured by wild beasts: then they cut up a hare, which had been caught by their dogs, and bore its heart to the Emperor. And when the Emperor saw it, he returned with gladness. But on the same day, as a certain noble duke was passing by and heard a child crying, he followed closely in the direction of the voice, and found the child; and, as he had no son, he took him to his wife, and causing him to be nursed, feigned that the child was his by his own wife, and named him Henry.

Now the said Godfrey introduces the following continuation of this story in his Pantheon, partly in verse, partly in prose:—¹

Extract
from
Godfrey of
Viterbo.

"The duke says,— 'thou must feign this child is thine;
Feign labour, and confess him for thy son;
For I believe he is a gift from Heaven.'
His lovely spouse heard gladly his request:
'Go hence,' she says, 'and quickly leave my chamber,
And tell the story of the birth to all.
Do thou obey my words, and grant this favour;
I, in due form, will feign the pangs of travail,
[That all men may suppose he is my son.]"

When then the boy had grown up, and had attained his fifteenth year, he was of very beautiful form, well spoken, and a favourite with all. The Emperor, seeing him when he dined with the Count, longed to have him, and finally

¹ "Partim metrice, partim prosaice." The verse only is found in the Pantheon; the prose is Capgrave's.

took him into his service. But this is more clearly de- A.D. 1039.
scribed in the verses:—

“When the boy Henry reached his fifteenth year,
Men deem him worthy of a soldier’s life;
[For all he did, and said, and was, pleased all.]
One day the king came in; the boy before him,
Fair in his youthful form and golden locks,
[Stood blushing like the rose. Then the king said,—]
‘What boy is this?’ ‘He is mine,’ the duke replied.
To whom the Emperor,—‘He is most like
Achilles: I must take him for mine own.’”

For the Emperor, seeing him so beautiful and so discreet, besought him of his father; and, though he resisted, caused him to remain at his court. But when he saw that the boy was a favourite, and was beloved and praised by all, he began to doubt whether he might not be destined to reign after himself, and whether he were not the child whom he had commanded to be killed. And wishing to be secure, he sent a letter, in his own hand-writing, by the boy to his wife, in this form: “As my life is dear to thee, as soon as you have received this letter, slay this boy.” Whence the verses:—

“With anxious mind the king assail’d the youth:
Forced him to name his father and his mother.
‘I am the duke’s,’ he said; ‘his home is mine.’
The king knew that the duchess long was childless,
And deems that he is not indeed her son;
And, doubting, plans some evil in his breast.
‘This must be he,’ he thinks, ‘whom long ago
I doom’d to death: what if he wear my crown!’
And eagerly he seeks to slay the youth.
With his own hand he writes the death-warrant,
And makes the lad himself his messenger,
Who—as, of old, Uriah—goes with gladness.

A.D. 1039.

Aix-la-Chapelle in seven days he reaches,
Companionless, of all things destitute ;

A priest receives him there,—so God had will'd.
Hungry and weary, on a couch he sleeps ;
The priest meanwhile prepares a sumptuous feast,
[And wonders at his young guest's comeliness.]”

Now it happened that the bag, in which was the letter, hung from the boy's girdle, and the priest, led by curiosity, opened the bag, and seeing a letter secured with the king's seal, he opened it without breaking the seal, and on reading it, was horror-struck at the meditated crime. And, cleverly erasing the words, “Slay him,” he wrote :—“You shall give him our daughter to wife.” And when the queen perceived that the letter was written by the emperor, she convoked the princes and celebrated the nuptials, and gave him her daughter to wife ; and these nuptials were celebrated at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The remainder of the story is given metrically in the following verses :—

“The queen beholding sees a youth approaching,
Admires his noble form and comely looks.

He comes and gives to her the royal letter.
She reads, but hides its purport from the youth ;
Her daughter blushing looks on in silence.

The mother bids her read her father's letter.
[Hard though it seem'd, her husband's will, she knew,
Must be a law to her who fear'd his wrath ;

And, after all, he was a comely youth.]
They cannot disobey the king's commands :
The bridal chamber is at once prepared,

The princess makes her ready for the wedding.
Ere long a second letter from the king :

‘Has all my will been dutifully done?’

She answers,—‘It is done as thou did'st send,

A.D. 1039.

Thy letter, at thy stern command, I read,
And, for I fear'd to contradict my king,

I have done all things that thou bidd'st me do.
Our child is married; the espousals o'er,
The court rejoices, great solemnities

Await her: she rejoices in her spouse.'
Cæsar, astonished, thinking all a dream,
Urges his horses, hastening on his way,
[And reaches, with distracted mind, his home.]

Daughter and mother, with their retinue,
Meet him; they bring with them his son-in-law,

The lovely bride leading him by the hand.
Swelling with wrath, he knows not what to say,
His anger rages, and he burns with fury:

Madness and reason struggle in his breast.
Rage checks the kindly dictates of his heart;
Whilst reason, friend of pity, strives against it.

His son-in-law sees instant death at hand.
Daughter and mother, whilst his fierceness burns,
Sink, full of fear, before his threatening brow;

Death and life struggle for the mastery there.
His wrath impels him to the deed of death:
Nature implores: 'Spare, pardon thine own child!

By Nature's prayers he is subdued at once.
Whilst the fierce struggle rages in his mind,
Reason assumes its sway, and anger flies.

With joy he views his wife, as was his wont:
He says to her, 'God's will may not be changed:
That which I will'd I could not; He forbade:

Whom God hath given to us let us receive.'
She answers,—'It is He who this hath done,
Whose wisdom, hidden from the wise of earth,
Rules all things,—then submit thy will to Him.

If Nature marks him as her noblest child,
Our daughter's fate will bring no loss to us,
If it be otherwise, will bring no joy.'

A.D. 1039.

On this the duke confesses all his deed ;
 His servants are constrain'd to tell the truth ;
 The count is summoned from his forest-home.
 The count comes trembling lest his doom be nigh,—
 The father recognises his dear son.
 That son is now the adopted of the king.
 When the king knows his noble parentage,
 At once he wins thereby the royal favour :
 The king says,—‘ He shall be my friend, my son.’
 When he perceives that he had broken faith,
 He praises him whom God had saved and loved.
 ‘ Thou shalt be even as my own son,’ he says,
 And yields him to his fate. The new-made prince
 Is praised all round, and sits at the king’s board.
 So rapidly doth Fortune’s wheel revolve.
 That place of groves, where this great man was born,
 Is hallow’d now : a noble church stands there ;
 There solemn vows are offer’d up to God.”

These things, as we have already said, are written concerning the wonderful elevation of this man to the empire.

Death of
 Conrad and
 accession
 of Henry.
 His con-
 quests.

On the death of Conrad, then, this man assumed the crown. He is said to have been equal to his predecessor, and even superior to him, in virtues. In the beginning of his reign he reduced to subjection the Duke of Bohemia, and subdued the Vindelici, who even to this day worship Fortune. They fix her idol in a very public place, and on its right affix a vase full of that drink made of water and honey, which they call Hydromel. That the Egyptians, and almost all the Oriental nations did the like is affirmed by Saint Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah. Therefore, on the last day of November, sitting together, they taste, and if they should happen to find the horn full, with great uproar they rejoice that in the coming year full horns of

plenty are promised unto all; but if the contrary is the case A.D. 1039.
they loudly lament.¹

These nations Henry made tributary, so that in the midst of all those ceremonies with which he was crowned, four of their kings bore on their shoulders to the kitchen a cauldron, in which flesh was cooked; carrying it by means of two bars passed through rings.

After this, he graciously befriended Peter, King of A.D. 1045.
Hungary, who had been expelled and exiled from his He assists
realm; and waging war with the Hungarians, he routed Peter of
an innumerable multitude of them, entered Pannonia, and Hungary.
restored Peter to his kingdom.

After the death of his first wife, he took to wife Agnes, [A.D. 1043.]
sister of William, a most noble prince of France, and duke His second
of Poitou and Aquitaine. And when in regal manner he marriage.
celebrated the nuptials, he suffered all the jesters, whom he detested, to depart unemployed, and gave their accustomed largess to the poor.

In the time of this emperor, there was found at Rome Legend.
the undecayed body of a certain giant whose name was Pallas; the opening of whose wound, in the place where he had been struck, measured four feet and a half. And the body exceeded the wall in height. And at his head was found a lantern still alight, which it was not possible to extinguish, either by wind or water; but when a hole had been made with a style beneath, the flame was extinguished. It is said that he was killed by Turnus. And this was his epitaph:—

“Pallas, Evander’s son, whom with his lance
The warrior Turnus slew, lies buried here.”²

This King once kept the feast of Whitsuntide at Henry

¹ See the Veron. Edition of S. Jerome’s works, vol. iv. col. 782, B.

² “Filius Evandri Pallas, quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit more suo, jacet hic.”

A.D. 1045.
spends
Whitsun-
tide at
Mayence.

Mayence. And while they were beginning the solemnities of the Mass there arose a remarkable contention between the Archbishop's chamberlains, and the monks of the Abbot of Fulda, as to which of them should sit on the King's right hand. And some indeed, said that the bishop was the more worthy, both on account of his rank, and because he was in his own church; whilst others gave the preference to the Abbot, because he was wont to send to the emperor in his expeditions sixty thousand armed men. After words it came to blows, so that the blood of many flowed on the pavement. At length, when the people were pacified and the church had been cleansed, they proceeded to celebrate the Mass; and, at the end of a Sequence, while they were singing,—"Thou madest this day of glory,"¹ a voice was heard in the air saying,— "This day of strife."² But the pious emperor perceiving the voice of an enemy rejoicing in discord, cried,—"Thou liest, Satan, for before we retire, we shall have a glorious day." And so, at length, all things being amicably settled, the Mass was celebrated and completed in the Lord.

Let these things, as many as have been now said, suffice concerning this most noble emperor. I intend to proceed with brevity.

¹ "Hunc diem gloriosum fecisti."

² "Hunc diem bellicosum."

OF HENRY THE FOURTH, EMPEROR.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY THE FOURTH began to reign in the year of our Lord 1062.¹

A.D. 1056.

Henry IV.

Of his genealogy authors do not treat, but, because he was the successor of the aforesaid Henry, he is therefore supposed to have been of his blood; notwithstanding that the emperors then, as now, were appointed by election. This Henry, a most victorious general and king, was crowned on Christmas day by Pope Clement, and was the ninetieth from Augustus who had received the imperial dignity. Then when he had led his army through Apulia, he returned with honour to his country.

His genealogy.

Not long afterwards, Peter, King of Hungary, who by Henry, the predecessor of this Henry, had been restored to his kingdom, was deprived both of his eyesight and of his kingdom, by a certain retainer of his, whose name was Andrew. But when the most pious Emperor heard this, benignantly compassionating him, he entered Pannonia, and traversing all the districts of that country, he pursued Andrew. But the inhabitants of the land everywhere concealing themselves, and all the food in Hungary being either hidden, or contaminated, or infected with poison, he was unable to sustain his army there; and so, after having ravaged Pannonia, he returned.

A.D. 1060.

He defends Peter of Hungary.

¹ This date is incorrect. Henry's accession is usually calculated from the year 1056, in which his father died. He did not become Emperor,

indeed, till the year 1084, but he was crowned King of Germany as early as 1054.

A.D. 1061.
He enters
Pannonia.

But in the following year he entered Pannonia with an hostile army, taking with him Pope Leo; and he put Andrew to flight, and settled all things prosperously. And if, according to the Wise Man, "a brother who is helped by a brother is as a strong city,"¹ much more firmly endures a kingdom when it is joined unto a kingdom. For that very charity which we are commanded to extend to a neighbour, ought to be extended also to the community, especially when the head, or prince, of any district is unjustly oppressed. Hence it was that, in great and imminent danger, the Kings of Judah were often called in to aid the Kings of Israel, and the reverse. Indeed the books which have been composed concerning the government of princes are full of those matters of which we now treat; but our purpose has reference solely to this,—that we may give to the world an account of those illustrious men who have borne this name. And although there may have been some among them whose reputation has been defamed through certain deeds of theirs, yet it is to be considered that they made a good end.

[A.D. 1044.]
The Great
Schism.

For, to descend to particulars, this illustrious man, although he did many things excellently and well, during the lifetime of Saint Leo the Pope, as for instance in obtaining the patrimony of Saint Peter, also in assisting Peter, King of Hungary, in assuming the Cross and going to the Holy Land, and many other things, still on account of a schism which sprung up, he died excommunicate, as they say, though possibly he himself might imagine that what he had done was right. For in his time there arose a serious confusion in the Roman Church, three intruders at the same time occupying that see, one of whom was called Benedict; and, that the accumulation of misery might be still greater, the patriarchates and their revenues were divided amongst them; one of them occupying Saint Peter's, the second Saint Mary Major, and the third,

¹ Proverbs, xviii. 19.

that is to say, Benedict, the palace of the Lateran ; and all, [A.D.1044.] as we are told, led shameful and flagitious lives.

Then, a certain priest, whose name was Graziano, taking compassion on God's Church in its confusion, went to the three before-mentioned, and, by means of bribes, persuaded them to withdraw from the Holy See ; leaving to Benedict, who appeared to be the most powerful among them, the revenues of England, as the price of peace. For which cause the Romans with one consent elected this priest Graziano, as the liberator of the Church, to the chief Pontificate, and styled him Gregory the Seventh.¹ But the emperor, hearing these things, hastened to proceed to Rome ; where Graziano met him graciously and paternally, and bestowed on him a valuable crown, that so he might win his favour. The emperor graciously received him at that time ; but afterwards, in an assembled synod, on account of a charge of simony, he induced him to give up the dignity, and, with the consent of the Church, substituted for him, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, whom it pleased him to name Benedict.² From that time to the present the canonical election of the Roman Pontiffs is said to have been stopped, so that this Benedict and Hildebrand and four others following in succession, who were appointed by the emperor, are not found recorded in the Catalogue of Roman Pontiffs.

Graziano is
elected
Pope.

[A.D.1046.]
But is soon
deposed.

But Martin³ states that this Cardinal Hildebrand, who was afterwards called Gregory,⁴ when he was a legate in France, and was proceeding in council against many simoniacal bishops, and wished to proceed against one bishop, who was much spoken against, and had with money corrupted the witnesses who had accused him, as legate, said in the council : " Let human judgment cease ;

Anecdote
of Hilde-
brand.

¹ This is a mistake for Gregory the Sixth.

² Clement II., who was elected in 1046.

³ See his Chronicle, ch. xevi.

⁴ Gregory VII. See the Introduction.

[A.D. 1046.] let the Divine Oracle be made known amongst us; since it is certain that episcopal grace is a gift of the Holy Ghost, and that whosoever purchases the episcopate does despite to the Holy Ghost. If, therefore, thou hast not done despite to the Holy Ghost, say, — ‘Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;’” and when he began boldly, and had said, — “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son,” he could by no means say “and to the Holy Ghost,” though he frequently repeated the attempt; but when he was deprived of his bishopric he at once said it fully.

A.D. 1076. This Hildebrand, afterwards created Pope, with the name of Gregory, was incensed against the Emperor Henry, because he effected a schism in the Church. For Hildebrand quarrels with Henry. the Emperor, at Worms, where a council of twenty-three¹ bishops and of numerous nobles were assembled, ordered all Gregory’s decrees to be quashed. Whereupon Gregory excommunicated the Emperor, and absolved all his adherents from their oath of fidelity. And the Emperor, as far as he was able to do so, deposed Pope Gregory from the papacy at Mayence, and appointed in his place Guipert, bishop of Ravenna. But the aforesaid Gregory the Seventh, in a council of ninety² bishops, excommunicated the Emperor Henry, because he had desired to destroy the unity of the Roman Church. But, afterwards, the same Henry came into Lombardy, and standing with naked feet on snow and ice for many days, with difficulty obtained his absolution.

A.D. 1080. After this again, many excommunicated bishops and promoters of sedition assembling at Brescia, elected Guipert, bishop of Ravenna, to be Pope, and called him Clement, and to him Henry, prostrate on the earth, with all the others, immediately did homage. And from the

¹ Thus in the MS. Cotton. The MS. C.C.C., and the printed text of the Chronicle of Martinus Polonus, have “twenty-four.”

² Thus in both MSS. The printed Chronicle has cx.

same Clement, on Easter day, he received the imperial crown, whilst keeping Pope Gregory and his cardinals besieged in the Castle of Saint Angelo; but when the Emperor heard that Guiscard was coming from Apulia to the help of our Lord the Pope, after destroying the Leonine city¹ and the capitol, he fled with his own Pope to Siena. A.D. 1080.

After these things, at Mayence, where he had kept the festival of Christmas, Henry appointed his son Henry, the Fifth of that name, to succeed him on the throne of Germany, and devoted himself to a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; of which also he made public proclamation. A.D. 1102.

In the second year after this, when the Emperor was again at Mayence, Henry his son, by the persuasion of the Bavarians, plotted rebellion against his father at Ratisbon, taking occasion by the fact that he was looked upon as excommunicated by the Sovereign Pontiff. And when he had joined unto himself certain princes, he entered Saxony, a country easily excited against the empire, whereupon all the Saxons consented to his wish. Then Ruthard, Archbishop of Mayence, who had for some time been excluded from his see by the Emperor, joined the party of his son Henry, and excommunicated the Emperor as a schismatic, in a Council held at the town of Northausen. Also Henry, who had been elected to the see of Magdeburg, but had been rejected by the Emperor, he consecrated, and arranged for his return to Mayence by the help of his son. But his father remained there with his forces, and defeated the project. Upon this the younger Henry moved his own army forward against his father, who also advanced to meet him: both armies were stationed on the banks of the Rhine, the river running between them. His Father's greatest strength lay in the troops of the Bohemians, and in Leopold, Marquis of Austria. But when the son A.D. 1104.
Rebellion
of the
Emperor's
son.

¹ Il Borgo, a suburb of the city of Rome lying between the Vatican and the Castle Angelo, called "Urbs Leonina" after Pope Leo IV., who fortified it.

A.D. 1104. discovered this, he contrived by promises to draw away not only the Marquis Leopold, but also Borzivoi, the duke of Bohemia, from the side of his father, who was so weakened by this loss that he was compelled to retire. After this the father and the son had a meeting at Pingyve, at which the latter warned the former that he should obtain from the Pope a release from his excommunication. The father requested that there should be a general assembly of the Princes at Mayence; which took place accordingly. The father and his son were presented to all the Princes; and, before the legates of the Apostolic See, the Emperor was pronounced excommunicate. Upon this he was placed in a certain castle in close custody, where the Princes, on his asking for an audience, managed to get the better of him, and in some way or other forced him no longer to put off resigning to his son the ensigns of royalty: and this he did in the fifty-second year of his reign, and the fortieth from the year in which he was made Emperor. The Princes therefore returned from the father to the son, bearing with them the ensigns of royalty, and, having told him that he had then been elected by his father, they made him Emperor by the hands of the Roman legates. He was the ninety-first from Augustus.

Henry re-
signs the
Empire.

But the Emperor Henry the Fourth, reduced to poverty, having resigned all the ensigns of royalty to his son, and having lost the support of all the Princes, had gone down the Rhine to Cologne, where he was received by the citizens, not as an exile, but as if he were still Emperor. From thence he proceeded to Liége, where he gave every one to understand, as well by word of mouth as by his letters, that he had been deceived by the Princes, and compelled to resign.

A.D. 1106.
His death.

And after a short interval he died at Liége, and was buried there as became a monarch. But afterwards, by command of the Roman Pontiff, his body was dug up, and cast out of the cemetery.

A warning is afforded in the life of this King to all

sovereigns, that, in case of a schism ever arising in the Church, they should not hastily incline to either party, but should carefully ascertain where the truth lies, and should give that side their countenance. For I suppose that, by the permission of God, this venerable Emperor was, on account of his error in this particular, smitten with penury, and punished in this world by the ingratitude of his son, and that at the last he bore all these sorrows patiently.

In reference to these events, the said Godfrey, in his Pantheon,¹ makes mention of him in verse as follows :—

“[He died at Liége, where he had wished to lie:]
 His clergy duly honour'd his remains,
 And laid him like a monarch in his tomb.
 [But he who erst had cursed him while alive,]
 Now bade them drag his body from the grave,—
 Laid on the city his anathema,
 And sought to tear the corpse from holy ground.
 The son could not endure to leave his sire
 To lie with the accurs'd, but bore him thence
 Far off to Spires, where the Rhine girds the shore ;
 And cursèd the mute corpse in his great rage :
 A she-goat's skin receives his father's bones.
 Translated thus, and placed in a new bier,
 Five years he lies unburied, unto all
 A spectacle of woe, condemn'd to shame.
 The son bewails this treatment of his sire :
 Mourning, he brings again the funeral bier,
 While he lies buried far from holy ground.
 The Pope debars him from the sacred rite,
 Till he receive again the ring and staff,
 Whereby he once had sold his patronage,
 [For he was ever given to simony,—
 That brand which Heavenly Wisdom hath forbidden,—
 And still his mind is bent on hoarded gold.]

Extract
from the
Pantheon.

¹ See col. 452, C.

A.D. 1106.

Henry succeeding to his father's throne,
The Pope forbids to keep or staff or ring,—
[That such a thing should be, no law permits.]
Henceforth the King the Pontiff cannot sell,—
That such a thing should be, all law forbids,—
And all should shun the charge of simony.
Thus, in a strait, and fetter'd on all sides,
The Emperor, beset without, within,
Yields to the Church, and, forced to give, gives all.
Thereby the churches, who had suffer'd long
His burning wrath, he persecutes no more.
War ceases, and returning peace brings rest.
The ring and staff fall to the Pontiff's lot,
The Emperor must rule the things of time ;
Thus all things on an equal footing stand.
The old king lies in consecrated ground ;
A golden monument yet marks his grave
In sacred Spires, his final resting-place."

OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY THE FIFTH, the son of Henry the Fourth, reigned, according to some authorities, fifteen, according to others, nineteen years. A.D. 1106.
Henry V.
Emperor.

On the death of his father he gathered a very large army, and, three years after he died, crossed the Pyrenees¹ by Montjui on his way to Rome. And when, having encamped on the banks of the Po, he had ordered his army to be reviewed, there were found to be thirty thousand soldiers, over and above all those who had joined him from different parts of Italy. Going thence, he crossed the Apennines, and destroyed the town of Pontremoli, which was well fortified with towers and walls, because the garrison tried to prevent the advance of his army. From thence he proceeded through Tuscany as far as Arezzo, and destroyed that city. After these exploits he advanced to Rome, and there was received by Pope Paschal and the Cardinals, on the steps of S. Peter's, with crosses and a procession, dancing, and great manifestations of joy. A.D. 1110.
He invades
Italy;

But the emperor made Pope Paschal his prisoner, having A.D. 1111.

¹ There were mountains bearing this name between Germany and Italy, far eastward of the great chain which forms the boundary between France and Spain. Herodotus (ii. 33, quoted in Smith's Classical Dic-

tionary) speaks of a city Pyrene belonging to the Celts, near which the Ister rises. Capgrave has altered "transiit Pyrenæum." which is found in the Pantheon, (see col. 455, A.,) into "transiit Pirenum."

A.D. 1111.
and takes
Pope
Paschal
prisoner.

been advised to do so by certain wicked counsellors, and gave him into the charge of Ulric, patriarch of Aquileia, to be kept by him with all due reverence. At this time there arose unexpectedly a disturbance about the ornaments of the church, and when everything belonging to the clergy had been intruded upon and disturbed, those who were in expectation of joy, encountered sorrow.

Origin of
the dispute.

The occasion and cause of the captivity of the Pope are thus narrated. When the emperor was on his way to Rome, the Pope had made a certain compact with him to the effect that the emperor should resign to him the right of investiture of bishops, while the Pope, on the other hand, should give up to the emperor all the ensigns of the authority of the bishops. This compact was made between the emperor and the Pope, and confirmed by oaths. And when, through the opposition of the bishops, the Pope was unable to perform his part, though he was in all respects free from blame in the matter, he was committed to close custody, as if he were a criminal. The chief promoter of this faction is said to have been Albert, the emperor's chancellor, who was afterwards Archbishop of Mayence, and in whom the emperor subsequently, by the judgment of God, found one of his most powerful enemies.

The recon-
ciliation.

When the Pope had been kept a prisoner for some little time, the emperor was recalled by the citizens, and, receiving the ring and staff from the Pope, he took care that the Pope himself and the citizens of Rome should be reconciled by gifts. Then he was crowned by the former, and obtained the dignity and name of emperor. This took place in the year of our Lord 1111,¹ which was the sixth year of his reign. Thereupon a synod of bishops was held, and the Privilege which had been agreed to by the Pope and the emperor was set aside.

A.D. 1114.

But the emperor, having returned to his own country,

¹ Both MSS. have M.XI. by mistake for M.CXI. The correction

has been made from the Pantheon, which Capgrave here quotes.

took to wife Matilda, daughter of Henry, king of England, and celebrated the nuptials at Mayence with great magnificence. Of this marriage authors¹ write as follows:—
 “At that time messengers, pre-eminent by their goodly form and superb array, were sent by Henry, the Roman Emperor, to demand the daughter² of Henry, king of England, in wedlock for their lord. And he, holding his court at London, with more than usual splendour, received the oaths of espousal from the legates of the emperor.” At these nuptials Lothaire, duke of Saxony, who was afterwards emperor,³ fell at the emperor’s feet, clad with a woollen garment because of his poverty,⁴ and with bare feet. For so great fear had come upon all that no one dared to resist his will. But when all had assembled at the celebration of that wedding, many conspiracies against his tyranny were set on foot by the princes; and from that time forward many began to rebel as well openly as in secret.

A.D. 1114.
 He marries
 the daughter
 of
 Henry I. of
 England.

Accordingly by the counsel and suggestion of the Archbishops—Frederic of Cologne, and Albert of Mayence, and some others—Pope Calixtus,⁵ who held the Papal See after Paschal⁶ and Gelasius,⁷ excommunicated the emperor. And a schism ensuing, the emperor hastened to Rome, and forcibly intruded into the Papal Chair one Bourdin, a Spaniard; but the Romans afterwards took him,⁸ and set him (as is reported) on the back of a camel, and led him away in an ignominious manner and committed him to perpetual imprisonment in a cave near Salerno.

A.D. 1119.
 He is ex-
 communicated.

¹ See Henry of Huntingdon (Ed. 1596); fol. 217, *b.*; and Matthew of Westminster under the year 1109.

² Maud, the only daughter of Henry I.

³ He succeeded Magnus as duke of Saxony in the year 1106, and was elected emperor in 1125.

⁴ “Pro penuria” in both MSS. of

Capgrave. In the Pantheon the words are “pro pœnitentia.”

⁵ Calixtus II., (Guy, Archbishop of Vienne in Dauphinc.)

⁶ Paschal II.

⁷ Gelasius II.

⁸ The Pantheon here adds “at Sutri,” (apud Sutrium.)

A.D. 1122.

He is absolved by the legate Lambert.

The emperor, perceiving that his power was gradually waning, and considering in his mind the example of his father, being moreover pressed down by fear of the anathema under which he lay, assembled a general council at Worms, and publicly resigned the right of investiture of bishops, viz. the ring and the staff, to Lambert, the legate of the Holy See, who was afterwards Pope Honorius,¹ and was by him loosed from the anathema. The Pope also granted this privilege to the emperor, that all bishops, as well those within the Alps as those without, should not be consecrated until they had been invested with the ensigns of authority by the hands of the emperor.

He besieges Rome.

But the emperor, longing to be avenged on Rome, hastened with all speed to Italy, and besieged the city. And when some went out to meet him incautiously, he put out the eyes, or cut off the noses² of nearly all of them.

A.D. 1125.

His death.

After this he returned to his own country, where he was taken suddenly ill, and died at Spire, in which city he had entirely built and endowed a church of magnificent workmanship. He was buried by the side of his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, in the fifteenth year of his reign according to Martinus;³ according to the Polychronicon,⁴ in the nineteenth. And the latter adds:—"We read that Henry was buried with his ancestors at Spire, and on his tomb the following epitaph is inscribed:

"'Son, father, grandsire, and his sire lie here.'"

Extract from Giraldus Cambrensis.

But Giraldus Cambrensis,⁵ (in his Itinerary,) seems to hold the truer view; for he says that this Henry, "at length imbued with penitence, went into voluntary exile, having

¹ Lambert, bishop of Ostia, became Pope as Honorius II. in the year 1124.

² Denasavit. This is the reading of the Pantheon. Both MSS. of Capgrave read "devastavit," which is evidently a mistake.

³ See Martini Poloni Chronicon, ch. xcvi.

⁴ See Higden's Polychronicon, lib. vii. cap. 14.

⁵ See Camden's Edition of Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 874, 22.

privately put away his wife, Maud, the daughter of the king of England, and led a holy life at Chester, in the monastery of Saint Withburga. And going thence barefoot, he lived in narrow circumstances for the space of ten years; and, lest while he lived he should be recognised by any one, he called himself Godescall, which means ‘called by God.’ But before he departed, he came to himself, and when he had resigned the right of investing bishops to Pope Calixtus, he granted permission that canonical elections should be holden in all churches throughout the whole empire, and the possessions and ensigns of authority belonging to S. Peter, which had been alienated by reason of discords caused by himself or any other, he restored to the Roman Church. The possessions also of other churches, and of other persons as well clerical as lay, which had been taken away by reason of the quarrel which he had caused in the church, he ordered to be faithfully restored.”

Of the mutual complainings and revilings of the church and the empire, Godfrey of Viterbo thus writes in verse :¹—

Extract
from God-
frey of
Viterbo.

“Why is the Pope, they ask, still kept in chains?

Men answer,—for that he hath sought to rob

The empire of its rights over the church.

For the church goods, which he now strives to grasp,

The empire gave; the empire may retain;

Henceforth he holds it but as Cæsar’s gift.

The ring and staff are in our right alone:

Pontiffs are laden with the gifts of kings,

How should they seek to wield the sceptre too?”

The answer of the church to the emperor:—

“The church replies,—If we must speak the truth,

The ring and staff are not of Cæsar’s gift;

¹ See the Pantheon, col. 456, D.

A.D. 1125.

For God hath given them to His church from Heaven.

All that the kings in times gone by have given
Are theirs no more, but hers to whom they gave

[What God's law and thine own forbid thee take].

Thou art our king, the guardian of our laws;
Thou sett'st a bad example to all time,

While raging thus against God's holy things:
The fount of rights should not set rights aside;
As thou dost those of God and man alike,

Afflicting us, as thou shalt one day suffer.
Shame that the source of laws should break the law,
And basely set at nought the King of Heaven:

[Sorrowful is the rule of godless kings.]

Why should a layman covet sacred gifts?

As God decrees, the elections of the church

By Heaven's high sanction ever shall be free.
Ask back the things which thou hast given to us,—
The things thou hast not given why wouldst thou seize?

'Tis well to give; to plunder is not good.

If reason bids all gifts to be recalled,

Let thine be taken away; give us our own;

If thou wilt this, we pray it may be so.

We gave thee empire; thy gifts are small.

By the chief Pontiff's aid thou holdest sway;

How dost thou, therefore, cast him into chains?"

On this the Emperor Henry, setting their answer at nought, took with him the rings and staffs, and all things which appertain to the Pontifical dignity, and departed. To continue in verse:—

"The Pope laments; and, summon'd by his Bull,
The whole church hastens to the Holy City:

[He tells them of the doings of the Cæsar],
And says, 'O Fathers, mark ye well his message,
And on this matter, as ye will, decree.

Command that I the Popedom shall resign:

Your woes, I mark, have all their source in me,
And I am worthy now to be deposed ;

A.D. 1125.

Nay I depose myself, lest ye fare worse.'
He spake, and cast mitre and mantle ¹ by,
'Decree,' he said, 'whatever seemeth good ;

In the chief Pontiff's stead judge for yourselves.'
They read the message ;— the king claims their rights ;
The ring and staff belong alike to him.

With one consent they cry,— 'It shall not be.'

This rescript, the terms of which had been unreasonably extorted from the Pope by the emperor, was immediately burnt, and the clergy, sympathising with the Pope, restored to him the mitre and mantle. Then the church began to take steps against the emperor, laying him under a curse, as well as all the dukes and nobles who had supported him in this proceeding. When Paschal died Calixtus succeeded him. Thereupon also a great contention arose between the courts of the Pope and the emperor, which the same author thus describes in verse :—

"The papal and imperial courts contend,

Whether the two may be compared, or not

And thus the courtiers of the king declare :—

'O Father, thou art spirit veil'd in flesh :

Who dares to treat thee as a thing of earth ?

How shall this lower world with Heaven compare ?

Thou art as God, the skies are given to thee,

To bind and to set free, as thou seest good :

Exiled in flesh, thy spirit grasps the stars.

And Cæsar is a living law to kings ;

Under one living law all rights are given ;

That law chastises, liberates, enchains.

He is the fount of law ; no law binds him,

And yet he yields him freely to the law :

And that is law, whatever pleases him.

¹ The "mantum" was a vestment formerly worn by the Pope at the time of his investiture. *Du Cange*.

A.D. 1125.

God gave him to the world to bind and loose ;
Divides with him His universal sway,—
Himself keeps Heaven ; gives all thing else to him.’”

The Papal Court replies :—

“ And thus unto the court the Pope makes answer :—
‘ If thou dost yield to Peter, thou mayest reign ;
The right in both Christ giveth unto us.
Body and soul are subject unto me,
My body sways the earth, my soul the Heavens ;
By ruling there, I bind and loose things here.
I climb the skies, and reach the things of God,
To give, to take, — to chain, set free, are mine :
The Old Law and the New both honour me.
The ring and staff, though they be things of earth,
The things they signify belong to Heaven :
Respect the rights of God, and yield to Him.’ ”

The emperor yielded to the Church :—

“ Then gives he to the Pope whate’er he ask’d,
Restoring all that he had taken from God :
Peace smiles, and all are happy in their rights.”

OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY THE SIXTH began to reign in the year of our Lord 1190. For after the death of the emperor Frederic and his eldest son, his second son Henry succeeded to the empire of Germany; and he reigned eight years. He was crowned at Rome, in the month of April, shortly after Easter.

A.D. 1190.
Henry VI.
Emperor.

In the same month he entered Apulia with a large army; and at the same time he delivered the Tusculan kingdom to the Romans, which was destroyed by them.

He enters
Apulia.

And in the same year the sun was eclipsed on the ninth day before the kalends of July,¹ from nine in the morning till three in the afternoon.

The sun
eclipsed.

This emperor reigned seven years under the Popes Celestine² and Innocent;³ according to others he reigned seven years and four months.

In the first year of his rule he invaded the kingdom of Sicily, and conquered the country as far as Naples in the space of three months. But while he was there so fatal a mortality attacked his army that nearly all his soldiers died, insomuch that he had to retreat with but a few men. He married Constance, the daughter of the king of Sicily.

His dis-
astrous re-
treat from
Sicily.

In the fourth year of his reign, however, he subdued

A.D. 1193.

¹ June 23.

² Celestine II. (Guy da Castro).

³ Innocent II. (Gregory de Papi).

A.D. 1193. the whole kingdom of Apulia, and inflicted divers punishments on many rebels there. Tancred, son of Tancred king of the Sicilians, with his mother Margaret, and the king of the Epirots he led captive with him into Germany.

Captivity of Richard I. of England. Of this man the Polychronicon¹ relates that "because he refused to release Richard, king of England, who was returning from the Holy Land, from prison, even when a large sum of money had been paid to him, he was excommunicated by Pope Celestine. And dying in this resolve he was not allowed to be buried, unless either the money which had been received were restored to king Richard, or Richard's consent were obtained for his burial."

Extract from the Pantheon.

Of this emperor also Godfrey of Viterbo says in his Pantheon,² bringing his chronicles to a close:—"Of Henry the Sixth, the son of the Emperor Frederic, and still a youth, we have no deeds to relate; but we see his graceful form, his warlike bearing, his courage, his liberality, his benevolence, his justice, and his piety, and all those royal virtues which we are able to look for in a youth of his years. And although by education and by nature he seems to surpass all his compeers in wisdom and exquisite feeling, nevertheless, with all due reverence to his majesty, we meditate offering him some few pieces of advice, whereby his character may be formed according to praiseworthy manners, and judgment, and justice, and he may himself be animated to the attainment of these royal virtues, by the means of which he may, God helping him, govern his empire for the future with glory and honour:—

"Now the Sixth Henry wears the Imperial Crown,
Oh, may his sire be present at this feast,
[And I will sing the praises of them both.]

¹ See Higden's Polychronicon, lib. vii. cap. 24.

² See the Pantheon, col. 467, A.

A.D. 1193.

Henry, the diadem of Rome is thine,—
 Heir of an ancient line of mighty kings,
 Thou holdest, in our day, their olden state.
 On thee the stars of heaven look smiling down, —
 For thee thy faithful bard now tunes his lyre,
 And tells thee how to rule thy people well.
 O Youth of youths, Flower of the Earth, of kings
 [The glory, and the praise of every time,]

List to the counsels which I give to thee :
 Beware of friends whose life is stain'd by guilt,
 Be just to all, and punish those who sin,—
 And, whatsoe'er thou doest, ' Know thyself.'
 'Twere better thou shouldst learn to rule thyself
 Than conquer many nations, and their kings,—
 [King of thyself— thou art a king indeed !]
 But if thou canst not honour public rights,
 How can'st thou dare to call thyself a king?—

Govern thyself or cease to govern me !
 Great Alexander in his youth was taught
 To follow wicked courses without shame,

And lived to mourn the lessons he had learn'd.
 Darius he could conquer ; Babylon fell
 Before him, but himself he could not tame ;—

' The jar once stain'd will be so to the end.'
 Now, in thy youth, look well if thou art dyed
 With guilty stain, and wipe it quick away,—

Vice of old standing knows not to depart,
 All things are lawful to thee,—seek not all,
 For lawful things have often power to hurt,

[And often things permitted bring a curse.]
 Holding the reins, rein thyself bravely in ;
 Spare others more, and spare thyself the least ;

Fear no one ; to thyself a terror be.
 Let Pharaoh's life — fell Nero's bloody deeds —
 Solomon's wavering course — be proofs to thee
 That evil is the lot of those who sin.

A.D. 1193.

These old examples I propound to thee,
 That thou may'st make a guide of Holy Writ,—
 So shalt thou learn to rule thy empire well.
 Honour the sacred places of thy land :
 Labour for peace, and root the wicked out,
 So peace shall come to thee, and not delay.
 Nourish the church ; in her adversity,
 Ever extend to her thy sheltering hand ;
 Her prayers are the true safety of thy crown.
 If thou would'st win the King of Heaven's behests,
 Learn of His ministers His righteous laws ;
 So shalt thou daily please Him more and more.
 Show pity to the poor ; and from the cry
 Of the lone widow turn not thou aside ;
 Regard the judgment of the fatherless.
 The rights of Heaven, the rights of earth, observe,
 That Right may vanquish all things in thy time ;
 Strike evil at its root ; forbid the wrong.
 Remit at times the sentence of the law,
 Nor let the clemency of rulers fail :
 God often wills to give the sinner life.
 And may'st thou so unto thy people give
 Rather forgiveness than avenging wrath,
 That they may learn to love thy chastenings.
 O Judge, in judgment, so restrain thyself,
 That never may thy looks anticipate
 Thy sentence, or the punishment at hand.
 Let even-handed justice be to all,—
 To thine own subject and the foreigner ;
 Do not pollute thy hand with secret bribes.
 Let every action by the self-same rule
 Be tried, nor let the rich oppress the poor ;
 [Let all disputes be settled by the judge.]
 If witnesses are call'd on either side,
 Lest guile creep in, strictly examine all ;
 Let the young Daniel's fate a warning give.

A.D. 1193.

Cut short the suit on written evidence,
If it be false, then spare thou not, nor seek
 The praise of man by falsehood, fraud, or guile.
If reason bid thee to avenge all wrongs,
See that thou do it quickly, — 'tis a sin
 To slacken justice, and doth gender ills.
If my first crime had met its meet reward,
No second capture had brought grief to thee ;
 The king's displeasure can prevent the sin.
Look well unto the praise men heap on thee ;
I would not have thee haughty with the proud ;
 A haughty spirit is the subject's bane.
What if their praise should make thee think thyself
Equal with God ! O king, be not deceived,
 For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return.
While on this earth, see that thy life be such
That thou may'st share the poor man's happy end ;
 The beggar and the king one death awaits.

THE SECOND PART.

THE BEGINNING
OF
THE SECOND DIVISION.

OF SIX KINGS OF ENGLAND OF THE NAME OF HENRY,

MEN OF RENOWN AND WORTHY OF ALL HONOUR.

SINCE the the royal approval is always much to be desired by those persons who take in hand to describe the acts of kings, and the incidents of their reigns, so, at the outset of my present work, I appear as an urgent suppliant before my King, beseeching him that he will at least look with an approving eye upon this slender undertaking of mine, in order that its author, gladdened by the light of his benign countenance and the expression of his sanction, may proceed to his other works with greater freedom and increased alacrity.

Dedication
of Part II.

For those of whom I treat have been the Lawgivers of this realm, and the guardians of our nation; and of such I have already given my advice that their example is to be followed when it is good, and when it is bad to be shunned. Yet even now it pleases me to repeat, that we ought not to

Dedication
of Part II.

hesitate to follow the steps of kings whenever we read of their good actions; and in cases where I have related that they have repented of their evil deeds, they should be an example of penitence to rulers. For S. Ambrose in his "Apologia David" asserts that the many are rather prone to follow kings in their glory than to imitate them in their humiliation. "David," he says, "sinned, as kings are wont to do; he repented with tears and groanings, as kings are not wont to do: confessing his crime, craving forgiveness, stretched on the earth, he bewailed his misery, he fasted, he prayed, and publishing to the world his sorrow, he handed down the testimony of his confession to future ages."¹

These words of the Blessed Doctor, most high and noble King, have emboldened me to relate to your Majesty not only the good deeds of your predecessors, but also those cleansings from their sins, which by their worthy and bitter weepings, they have merited, to the praise of the Lord, and their own eternal glory. In honour of the same Lord I hasten to begin this Second Part.

¹ See S. Ambrose's *Apologia David Prima*; ch. iv. i. 631, M. (Ed. Paris, 1586).

OF KING HENRY THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY THE FIRST, King of England, the third son of William the Conqueror, began to reign in the year of our Lord 1100.

A.D. 1100.

Henry I.
King of
England.The suc-
cession is
disputed.

For the said William, when he was dying, bequeathed the kingdom of England to his son William; to Robert, his eldest son, he granted the duchy of Normandy, while to his son Henry, called Beauclerc, he left a large amount of treasure. Now William, surnamed Rufus, was crowned in England, and reigned thirteen years.

When his brother Robert heard of these things, he landed at Hampton, intending to claim the kingdom of England. But king William sent messengers unto him, who said,—“Thy brother William does not style himself king, but vice-ruler, and that by thee and under thee, inasmuch as thou art greater, and braver, and older than he. For, if it please thee, he did not usurp that which he only took for the time being, in consequence of thy absence. And because it has so happened that he has been crowned, he begs thee to accept of him, while he nevertheless continues to reign under thee, an annual tribute of three thousand marks, on condition that the one of the two who shall survive the other shall inherit the honours of both.” And Robert, consenting to this unexpected counsel, dismissed his army and returned to Normandy, carrying back with him nothing but promises.

Robert
claims the
kingdom.

Now this same Robert, when he had heard of the death of his brother William, returned from the Holy Land

A.D. 1100. together with his wife whom he had espoused in Sicily. He spurned the government of Jerusalem, preferring, if he could, to possess the realm of England, rather than to hold sway in the Holy Land, on which account it happened that he was never afterwards fortunate in war.

A.D. 1102. Now in the year of our Lord 1102, Ralph, bishop of Durham,¹ dexterously escaped from his imprisonment in the Tower of London,² crossed the sea, and persuaded Robert, duke of Normandy, to invade England with a hostile army. And many of the nobles of England, by their letters and messengers, entreated him to do the same. Accordingly he immediately collected a vast army, and landed at Portsmouth. Nevertheless, through the mediation of the more prudent men of the realm, peace was re-established between the brothers on this condition, that three thousand silver marks be paid every year to Robert, and that those lands should be restored to his partizans which had been taken away from them, and that he who lived the longer should be the heir, provided that the other died without male issue. And twelve of the more illustrious nobles of either party swore to observe this. Robert thereupon remained in his brother's kingdom until the feast of S. Michael,³ and afterwards returned to his own country.

A.D. 1106. In the sixth year of king Henry's reign, Robert, duke of Normandy, came to the king, his brother, at Northampton, demanding of him, in a friendly manner, that he would in a like friendly spirit restore to him the things which had been taken away from him. But when the day of reconciliation between them did not shine auspiciously, the duke returned in anger to Normandy, whither the king speedily followed him. Now the duke, trusting in his strength and in the bravery of his troops, did not

¹ Ralph Flambard, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chief Justice. He held the See from May 29th, 1099, to September, 1128.

² He had been imprisoned from the 14th of September in the previous year.

³ September 29.

scruple to take possession of the dukedom of Normandy, A.D. 1106. though he had given it in pledge to his brother Henry, as the sum of money had not been paid, in violation of the agreement which, to no purpose, had been made between them. And when he had compelled the cities, the fortresses, and the towns to surrender, he forcibly expelled and drove away the officers of his brother king Henry, and took entire possession of the revenues of the said dukedom.

As soon as king Henry heard this, on the invitation of some of the Norman nobility to whom duke Robert had become an object of fear and of hatred, he passed over from England into Normandy, and began to collect an innumerable company of paid soldiers to assist him, supplying them sufficiently with pay from the money of which he had abundance, and he declared war, on a certain day and place, against his brother, who had forfeited his good faith. In the meantime, when king Henry had laid siege to the fortress of Tenechebray, came the duke of Normandy, and with him Robert de Belesme,¹ and the earl de Mortaigne, and all his partizans. But the king, who was well supported, had on his side the nobles of Normandy, and the strength of England, and of Anjou, and of Brittany.

Battle of
Teneche-
bray.

When therefore the trumpets had sounded with hoarse voice, the duke of Normandy with his scanty followers most bravely attacked the host, and, being accustomed to the wars of Jerusalem, courageously and terribly drove before them the royal lines. Moreover William, earl of Mortaigne, troubled the English troops, and drove them from place to place. But the men of Brittany opposed him. Now the king, and the duke, and the other troops,

¹ Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, had been exiled from England in the year 1102, and some of his possessions were given to Jorwerth of Wales, because he had fortified his castles on behalf of Robert,

duke of Normandy. William, earl of Mortaigne, who was also a partizan of the duke of Normandy, shared his fate in 1104. He died in prison, and his earldom was given to Stephen of Blois.

A.D. 1106. were on foot, in order that they might fight the more steadily. But the king, drawing out the forces of the duke over against him, suddenly overwhelmed them by the mere force of numbers, and in this way the duke's line was broken and defeated. But when Robert de Belesme saw this, he provided for his own safety by flight. Thereupon the most brave duke was taken prisoner, and so was the earl of Mortaigne. And the Lord punished duke Robert, because, when He had rendered him glorious in his deeds at Jerusalem, he refused the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was offered to him, and chose rather to give himself up to inactivity and idleness in Normandy, than to the service of the Lord of lords in the Holy City. Therefore God condemned him to continual idleness, and a prison all his days.

Comet. A comet appeared, for a sign of this event, in the same year, namely, in the year of our Lord 1106.

On the Friday in the first week of Lent,¹ about eventide, a star of unusual appearance appeared shining between the southern and western quarters of the sky, and it continued to appear at the same hour for twenty-five days. And a great beam seemed to meet it, coming out of the east. After this, on Maundy Thursday,² there appeared, a little before day, two full moons, one in the east, the other in the west.

Inprisonment of the Emperor Henry IV. And in this year, indeed, these aforementioned events took place; and in that same year, moreover, there arose an impious dissension between Henry the emperor and Henry his son, of which we have spoken above,³ so that the son imprisoned his father.

The king, then, having overcome his enemies, settled

¹ That is the 9th of February in the year 1106. In both MSS. of Capgrave the chronology is somewhat confused in consequence of his having neglected to count the first regnal year of Henry I. The

chronology has been set right in the margin throughout, and every deviation of importance will be pointed out among the notes.

² April 6th.

³ See p. 31.

the affairs of Normandy after his own pleasure, returned into England, and consigned to the gloom of a dungeon duke Robert his brother, and the earl of Mortaigne. Therefore, crowned with victory, and then for the first time firmly established as king¹, he held his court at Easter² in Windsor, at which the nobles of England, as well as those of Normandy, were present in fear and trembling. For previously, both while he was yet young, and even after he had become king, he was held in very great contempt; but God, Who judgeth far otherwise than the sons of men, Who exalteth the humble and putteth down the mighty, deprived Robert, whose renown was very great, of all his popularity, and ordered that the fortunes of the despised Henry should be famous throughout the whole world. And the Omnipotent Lord freely gave unto him three things, wisdom, victory, and riches.

A.D. 1106.

Henry returns to England.

In the beginning of his reign he was consecrated king by Maurice, bishop of London, for Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was at that time in Normandy.

His coronation.

But when Anselm heard that the king had been crowned, he returned into England, and betrothed to the newly chosen king Henry Maud, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret his queen.

His marriage.

In the eighth year of Henry, a council was held in London, at which it was determined, with the king's consent, that never for the future should the king, or any other lay person exercise the right of investiture with the delivery of the ring and pastoral staff.

A.D. 1108.

At this time, also, Gerard, archbishop of York, having laid his hands upon the hands of Anselm, rendered homage and obedience to him in the following words:—"I Gerard, archbishop of York, about to be consecrated Metropolitan, profess subjection and canonical obedience to the holy

Gerard, Archbishop of York, yields homage to the See of Canterbury.

¹ "Tunc primum rex fortis." The reader will be naturally reminded of the expression used by Livy (Bk. i. ch. 42) of Servius Tullius: "haud

dubius rex, seu Patrum, seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit."

² Easter Day fell on March 25th in the year 1106.

A.D. 1108. church of Canterbury, and to Anselm the canonically elected Primate of the said church, and to his successors canonically appointed, saving the allegiance due to our lord Henry, king of England, and saving also the obedience to be observed on my part which Thomas my predecessor on his part professed to yield to the holy Roman Church."

A.D. 1109. In the ninth year of king Henry, the said king ordained that thieves should be hung, and that coiners of false money should lose their eyes and their manhood. But, forasmuch as pennies, when they were taken out and bent, were liable to be broken, on that account he ordained that pennies and halfpennies should be made round.

A.D. 1110. In the tenth year of his reign¹ this king founded a bishop's see at Ely, and placed there Hervey, who had lately been bishop of Bangor. And because he cut off a portion of the Diocese of Lincoln by transferring Cambridge to the See of Ely, he on that account gave to the bishop of Lincoln his royal Vill of Spalding.

A.D. 1114. In the fourteenth year of his reign the said king built anew the Monastery of Hide, without the walls of Winchester; but formerly it had stood within the city.

Thurstan, Arch- In the same year also Thurstan was elected archbishop of York; and he, though he had been often admonished by the king that he should yield canonical subjection to the archbishop of Canterbury, chose rather to resign his dignities than obey the archbishop of Canterbury. But while he remained deprived of his see and stripped of his accustomed honours, sick at heart with ambition, he repented of his deed, and followed the king beyond the sea, when Pope Paschal, through the influence of Thurstan's clergy, despatched a letter to the king demanding his re-

¹ The date of the foundation of the See of Ely is generally fixed one year earlier, in 1109. Hervey, who is here recorded to have been its

first bishop, had been forcibly expelled in a previous year by the Welsh from the See of Bangor.

storation. But when he had returned to his see, and still held back from yielding obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, the former strife was renewed. Both sides agreed to meet in council at Rheims in order to decide the matter; and there in the first place the Pope promised king Henry and Ralph,¹ archbishop of Canterbury, that he would ordain nothing injurious to the dignity of the See of Canterbury; on the contrary he seemed willing to grant such a privilege as this:—"All the original privileges which your church has, and those which have been granted by our predecessors, these we by no means diminish, but desire that they be observed inviolate." If our lord the Pope had added here,—"And these dignities your church possessed," he would have put an end to the controversy; but, as it was, he left it undetermined. So well does the crafty humour of the Romans know how to betake itself to the subtleties of orators, in order to protract by continual evasion the things which it wishes to make void, not sparing the labours of others, provided only that it is able to consult its own profit. Wherefore our lord the Pope, on the departure of the king's messengers, uninfluenced by favours or gifts, and more craftily than became so great a man, consecrated Thurstan,² investing him with the pallium, in contempt of the precedents of antiquity. And although king Henry, full of indignation at this, laid Thurstan under prohibition, nevertheless he was frightened by an apostolic letter, in which was contained a decree that either the king should accept Thurstan, or himself lie under a curse, and that the Pope would deprive the See of Canterbury of the dignities of its office. Wherefore the king, being compelled to do so, at length accepted Thurstan.

A.D. 1114.

¹ Ralph or Rodolph, translated from the See of Rochester in the year 1114. Anselm died on the 21st of April, A.D. 1109.

² The consecration took place on the 19th of October, 1119.

A.D. 1114.

After this, Ralph, who was very subject to fits of choler and paralysis, on the day in which king Henry, after the death of his first wife, the good queen Maud, married the daughter of the duke of Louvain, compelled the bishop of Salisbury,¹ who was clad in his sacred robes, and wishing to perform that office as if within his own diocese, to take off his ornaments and to give place, and he delegated this office to the bishop of Winchester,² guarding the rights of his successors. But on the following day, when he had seen the king crowned, without his acquiescence, he approached the king and said:—"Thou art crowned unlawfully; either, therefore, thou wilt keep thee from the crown, or I from offering Mass." And the king answered him: "O Father, that which has been done wrongfully, do thou correct." And scarcely, by the entreaties of the nobles, was Ralph dissuaded from dashing the royal crown from the king's head.

A.D. 1119.

War with
France;
Battle of
Brenville.

In the nineteenth³ year of his reign king Henry fought gloriously against the king of France.⁴ Louis, the French king, indeed, had set in the front the troops which were commanded by William, the son of duke Robert, Henry's brother. But Louis himself fought vigorously in the

¹ Roger, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord Treasurer. He held the See of Salisbury from April 13th, 1102, to Dec. 4th, 1139.

² William Giffard, Lord Chancellor. He held the See of Winchester from August 11th, 1107 to January 25th, 1129.

³ Our author confines his account of the important events in France and Normandy which took place at this period to the description of a single battle. Hostilities appear to have been renewed about five years after the battle of Tenechebray, in the year 1111, when King Henry entered Normandy, partly on behalf of

Richard Braioise and others whose lands had been seized. He accomplished their restoration in the following year and returned to England, but still found his presence in Normandy continually necessary. In the year 1117, he committed the management of the Kingdom to Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and remained nearly three years in Normandy, engaged in continual struggles with the king of France, whom he finally defeated at Brenville. Queen Maud died during his absence in May, 1118.

⁴ Louis VI. le Gros.

second line. Now king Henry had placed his nobles in the first rank, while he himself with his own attendants remained on horseback in the second. But in the third he had placed his sons on foot with the great body of his troops. The foremost line of the French speedily unhorsed the band of the nobles of Normandy, and was dispersed. The royal lines mutually attacked each other, and the battle raged fiercely: all the spears were broken and the fight was carried on with swords. In the midst of the fray William Crispin twice struck the king's head with his sword. And, although his helm was impenetrable, nevertheless, by the force of the blows, the helm itself was driven slightly into the king's head, so that the blood burst forth. But the king with his sword dealt his assailant such a blow in return, that, although his helmet was impenetrable, yet by the weight of the stroke he laid low both the horse and his rider, and the latter was presently taken prisoner before the king's feet. But the line of infantry, in which the sons of the king were, having not yet struck a single blow, but prepared shortly to do so, rose against them in the opposite direction with their spears presented. And when the French saw this they were terrified at the unexpected alarm, and fled. But the most victorious king Henry remained on the battle-field until the chief men among his enemies had been captured, and brought into his presence. And, having returned to Rouen amid the blasts of trumpets and the chanting of the clergy, he gave praise unto God and our Lord.

Of this glorious victory one has thus written :—

“ Henry, the glory and the praise of Kings,
Strikes terror to the hearts of the French host ;
A mightier Prince conquers a mighty King.
Flight they prefer to war, the spur to darts,
Headlong their course,—while praise eternal crowns,
As with undying bay, the Norman's brow.

A.D. 1119. Thus did our King—their haughty souls press'd down—
Force their proud lips to mutter in despair.”¹

Conference
with the
Pope at
Gisors.

In the same year also king Henry espoused William, his first-born son, to the daughter² of the count of Anjou; and made peace with the king of France on this condition, that his first-born son William should hold Normandy of the king of France. Also in the same year Pope Calixtus came to Gisors, and Henry, king of England, went thither to meet him, and hold a conference with him.³ Among other things, the king demanded from the Pope that he would grant to him all those privileges which his father had enjoyed in England and in Normandy, and especially that he would never permit any one at any time to exercise the office of legate in England, unless he himself on the pressure of some especial complaint, which could not be finally settled by the bishops of his own realm, should demand that this should be done by the Pope.

A.D. 1120. In the twentieth year of his reign, when all in France had been reduced to peace and subjection, king Henry returned with great joy into England; but in the passage across the sea, two of the king's sons, William and Richard, and one of his daughters, and his niece, and many nobles, the stewards, chamberlains, and cupbearers of the king, and also Richard, earl of Chester, were shipwrecked⁴; all,

¹ See Henry of Huntingdon in Savile's "Scriptores post Bedam," page 381, 15.

² Her name was Matilda. After the Prince William, her husband, had been drowned on his passage to England, the Count, her Father, demanded her dower of the King of England; and, when it was refused, he joined himself to William, son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, giving him one of his daughters in marriage, and affording him all the assistance he could.

³ One object which the Pope had

in view on the occasion of this conference, was the restoration to liberty of Robert, Duke of Normandy: Calixtus pleaded that he might be permitted to go into Palestine on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, but without avail. The conference began on the 20th of November.

⁴ The wreck took place on the 25th of November. Prince William was the King's only legitimate son: among his illegitimate offspring were Richard, who is here mentioned as one of those who perished, Reynald, earl of Cornwall, and Robert, earl

or nearly all of whom are said to have been implicated in the sin of sodomy. Among them was the archdeacon of Hereford,¹ and many other nobles to the number of one hundred and forty in all, none of whom escaped save one ignoble rustic. On the following day they found much treasure on the sands, but none of the bodies of the dead; of whom the poet thus writes:—

“The sons of Normandy—the French o’ercome—
Hasten to English shores, but God forbids,
And, while their fragile vessel skims the sea,
Brings up a lowering tempest o’er the deep.
Blindly they hurry on their devious track
And dash on hidden rocks; the raging waves
Sweep the high decks,—the royal seed goes down—
Lost in the barren sea the world’s renown.”²

In the same year, at Christmas, the king was at Brampton, together with Theobald, count of Blois. A.D. 1120.

And after this,³ at Windsor, he married Adelais, the daughter of the duke of Louvain, on account of her great beauty. And he and his new queen were crowned in London at Whitsuntide.⁴ Now of the beauty of the afore-said queen one has thus written:— Henry marries Adelais of Louvain.

“O Adelais, England’s beauteous Queen,
To sing of thee trembles the Muse divine:
What gem-starr’d diadem, what glittering sheen —
Can give thee light? — they lose their own in thine.
Take graces from thee, — Nature’s grace remains,
Nor can aught add unto thy loveliness;

of Gloucester, the two last of whom supported the empress Maud, their sister, against the usurper Stephen.

¹ His name was Geoffrey.

² See Henry of Huntingdon in Savile, page 381, 35.

³ “*After this*,” i.e. in the following spring. The marriage was solemnised on the 2nd of February, A.D. 1121.

⁴ Whitsunday fell on the 29th of May in the year 1121.

A.D. 1121. Thy glancing eye the glimmering gem disdains ;—
 Fling it away,—thou wilt not shine the less.
 'Tis my chief joy to celebrate thy praise ;
 And, lady, do not spurn my humble lays.¹

A.D. 1125. In the twenty-fifth year of his reign the empress Maud
 The Em- came to visit her father Henry, bringing with her the in-
 press visits corruptible hand of S. James the Apostle, and the imperial
 her Father. crown. And king Henry, for joy thereof, founded the
 noble abbey of Reading, and placed in it the hand of
 S. James the Apostle. This Maud was the wife of the
 emperor Henry the Fifth, after whose death she was
 married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou ; and of
 her the said Geoffrey begat Henry, who was destined to be
 the second king of England of that name.

King Henry, therefore, providing for the future fate
 of his kingdom, the condition of which through the failure
 in the succession was as it were hanging in a balance,
 because he had no heir-male of his own body lawfully
 begotten who could succeed him in the kingdom by here-
 ditary right, summoned² the nobles of his whole realm, and
 caused them to swear allegiance to his daughter, the
 empress Maud, and the heirs that should be born of her,
 though as yet³ she had given birth to no children.

Stephen of Amongst others who took the oath, the first⁴ and fore-
 Blois most was Stephen, Count of Boulogne and Blois, king
 swears Henry's sister's son, who not only in his own person pro-
 fealty to nounced the oath of allegiance, but also prepared the form
 her. of taking the oath in the case of the other nobles of the
 realm.⁵ For the said Stephen, the eldest son and heir of

¹ See Henry of Huntingdon in Savile, page 381, 50.

² This took place on the 25th of December, 1126. The oath of fealty was renewed at Northampton in September, 1131.

³ Henry the Second was born at Le Mans, in Maine, in the year 1133.

⁴ The king of Scotland, the uncle of Maud, was the first to swear fealty ; he was followed by Stephen, and then by Robert of Caen, natural son of the king, her father, by Nesta, princess of Wales.

⁵ "At which swering Steven erl of Boloyn, or of Blesens, as othir

the elder Stephen, count of Boulogne, had, through the influence of king Henry, his uncle, married the only daughter and heiress of the count of Blois. And so it happened that by succession on his father's side he became count of Boulogne, and through his wife, of Blois likewise.

In the thirty-third year of his reign, died¹ Robert, formerly duke of Normandy, and surnamed "Curthose," the brother of king Henry, whom the said Henry had thrown into chains, and had put out his eyes with a heated basin. Now he died at Cardiff Castle, in Wales. But there is a legend concerning the said Robert that, when king Henry had caused robes of one pattern to be prepared against Christmas for himself and the said Robert, and, first of all, of two head-dresses which he tried on, had reserved the one which fitted best for himself, and had sent the other to his brother, the said Robert, hearing from the chamberlain who brought him the splendid dress that he was broader across the shoulders than his lord the king, and that on that account the king, having tried on both head-dresses, had sent the larger to him, is said to have answered: "Now I have lived too long, since my younger brother has sent me to wear the old clothes which he had left off." And such was the strength of his resolution, that he refused to eat or drink thereafter.

Now in the thirty-fifth² year of his reign, the said Henry began to reside continually in Normandy; but he often proposed to return into England, and would have done so

A.D. 1126.

A.D. 1133.

Death of
Robert of
Normandy.A.D. 1135.
Death of
Henry I.

wryte, was principal; and he mad the forme and the manere of swering." *Capgrave's Chronicle of England*; page 134.

¹ The date usually given for the death of Duke Robert is the year 1134, one year later than the period assigned by Capgrave. He died in the beginning of February. He had been twenty-eight years in captivity,

but, though he was without doubt cruelly and unjustly treated, there seems to be some uncertainty as to the truth of the story of his having been blinded by his brother's instrumentality.

² Henry went to Normandy in 1133, and continued there during the two remaining years of his life.

A D 1135. had he not been detained by his daughter on account of the continual quarrels which arose from different causes between the king and the count of Anjou, through the artifices of his daughter. And by these excitements the king was roused to anger and crossness of disposition, which are said by some to have been the natural cause of the chill he took and afterwards of his death. For when the king had returned from hunting at S. Denys, in the wood of Lions, he partook abundantly of lampreys, which always did him harm, though he always enjoyed them. But, when his physician forbade him to partake of this dish, the king did not acquiesce in the judicious counsel, according to the saying:—

“We are always striving after that which is forbidden, and that which is denied us we desire.”¹

This meal, therefore, by introducing noxious humours, and by powerfully arousing sympathetic action, affected his aged body with a deadly chill, and caused a sudden disorder. And, nature struggling against this, it produced a severe fever, in the effort to digest the injurious substance. And when he could by no means recover, this great king died on the first day of December, after a reign of thirty-five years. And concerning his death Henry of Huntingdon gives us the following memorial lines:—

King Henry dies, our glory once, and now
Our sorrow,—the gods weep their fellow-god.
Mercury's eloquence, Apollo's wit,
Jupiter's power to rule, the might of Mars,
The providence of Janus, and the strength
Of Hercules, Minerva's art,—all, all,
Lament together; and in ruin falls
The land whose sceptre he so nobly bore;

¹ “Nititur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.” See Ovid. Amor. iii, 4; 17.

And Normandy, bereavèd of her lord,
Weeps for the King whom she in youth had nurs'd.¹

A.D. 1135.

As soon, then, as the great king Henry was dead, the opinions of the people concerning the deceased began, as is commonly the case, to be freely uttered. Some asserted that he had been distinguished for three glorious qualities, — for wisdom, because in counsel he was esteemed most profound, conspicuous for foresight, and remarkable for eloquence; for success in battle, because he had overcome the French king in open warfare, besides other victories which he won; and for his riches in which he had to a very great degree excelled all his predecessors. Others again declared him guilty of three vices, viz. of avarice, because, as all his fathers had done, by greedily laying tributes on his people, and making exactions, he had entangled the poor on the hooks of the informer; of cruelty, also, because he had thrown into prison his kinsman, the count of Mortaigne, and had deprived him of sight, and so horrible a crime could not become known until death revealed the secret deeds of the king. He had also caused his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, to be blinded with a heated basin. They accused him also of a luxurious mode of life, because, after the example of Solomon, he was always subject to the rule of women.

His character.

So the body of the dead king, after the entrails and brain had been taken out, was abundantly sprinkled with salt, with a view to prevent the foul smell, because it had already injuriously affected very many. At length it was sewed up in a bull's hide, but not even by this means could the poisonous humour be kept in. His body was carried to Rouen, and there his entrails and brain and eyes were buried together. From thence the king's attendants car-

¹ See Henry of Huntingdon, in Savile, page 385, 34.

A.D. 1135. ried his body to Caen, where it was placed for a long time in the church¹ in which his father had been buried.

He is
buried in
Reading
Abbey.

At length the remains of the king's corpse were brought into England, and were buried in the Abbey of Reading.

See, then, whosoever thou art that readest, how the corpse of this most mighty king, whose neck had gleamed with a diadem, with gold and gems as with the splendour of the day, whose hands had both glowed forth with jewels, whose whole person had been radiantly clad in cloth of gold, whose mouth was wont to feed on the most delicious dainties, whom all men used to greet with reverence, all to dread, all to receive with gratulations, all to admire,—behold, I say, to what a condition that body has been reduced, how wretchedly it has been hidden from sight, how miserably it has been cast away!

¹ Saint Stephen's Minster.

OF HENRY THE SECOND,
KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY THE SECOND, king of England, the son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and Maud, daughter of Henry the First, and formerly empress, was born in Anjou,¹ about the year of our Lord 1133, and to him the kingdom of England belonged by hereditary right.

Henry II.
Born
A.D. 1133.

Nevertheless, Stephen, count of Boulogne and Blois, seized on the kingdom, notwithstanding the oath with which he had been bound in reference to this matter. But as to his reign, and the number of years during which he held the kingdom; the battles also which were fought between him and the said Maud, in which either he was conquered himself, or else was conqueror, it forms no part of my present business to describe them, since I have undertaken to commemorate in this little treatise only those illustrious kings who bore the name of Henry.

Stephen's
usurpation.

Maud, then, the empress, and now countess of Anjou, as soon as she had heard of her father's death, divesting herself of womanly feeling, and putting on a manly spirit, not fearing the perils of the pathless sea, took with her her son, who was as yet a mere child, and crying, as it were, in his cradle, and with the consent of her husband, the count of Anjou, who decided that it would not be safe for him to cross the sea with her, and so leave his own

Maud
invades
England.
A.D. 1139.

¹ Capgrave says, "*circa*, annum Domini M.CXXXVIII.," but he is rather wide of the mark: Henry was born in the year 1133.

A.D. 1139. country unprotected, she prepared a fleet and embarked with a body of soldiers. The breeze being favourable, she landed, after a prosperous voyage, in England, ready to vindicate the right to the kingdom of England which belonged to her son by direct succession as well as by the behest of his grandfather, by an indisputable claim. Those also of the nobles of the realm, whose minds the desire to violate their oath had led away, she brought over to her own side by prudent measures, and sent to king Stephen, the usurper of another's rights, demanding that either he should give up the kingdom, or else prepare himself for active warfare. Moreover, she summoned to her aid that most powerful man, Robert, earl of Gloucester, her father's illegitimate son.

Henry in
Scotland.

The partizans of the empress and of king Stephen contended for sixteen years; and during this time Henry, who was still a youth, remained in Scotland. For the Empress, as it is said, committed her son during his minority, and while she was seeking to weary king Stephen by continual warfare, to that illustrious prince, David, king of the Scots,¹ to be brought up by him.

A.D. 1149. When king Henry had attained the sixteenth year of his age, the king of the Scots, perceiving him to be apt in the use of arms and in warlike exercises, presented him with a knight's belt at Carlisle.

Now when he heard of the death of his father, the Count of Anjou,² he betook himself with all speed to the

¹ David I.

² The following curious Legend of the ancestors of Henry II. is given in Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, page 139:—

"And here, as we fynde wrytyn, we will declare his genelogie. The fader of Gefrey, Plauntgenet wedded a wyf only for bente. He wist not fro whens sche cam, ne of what kynrod sche was. Seldom wold sche com to chereh, but nevyr abyde the

Sacre. And whan this was noted of hir husbond, he mad four knytes on a day to hold hir stille at the Masse; and so they ded: but a lytil befor the Sacri, as thei held hir be the mantal, sche fley fro hem oute at a wyndowe, and to childir that were on hir left hand sche barc with hir; othir to that were on the rite hand she left behynde hir. Kyng Richard of Ynglond was one to telle that it was no merveile thouȝ thei that cam

regions of France, and took possession of Anjou by succession from his father, as well as of Normandy and Maine and other lands, which belonged to him of right from his grandfather, none making resistance; and, despising the title of count, he assumed that of duke, and caused himself to be publicly proclaimed duke of Normandy. A.D. 1149.

In the same year, king Henry married queen Eleanor, the divorced wife of the king of France,¹ and countess of Poitou. For a quarrel having long subsisted between Eleanor, queen of France, and her husband, through the means and by the desire of Eleanor herself, a divorce was arranged on the plea of the consanguinity which, as she represented, existed between herself and her husband. Accordingly a divorce was effected between them by the authority of the Apostolic See. But the woman was all the more eager in her endeavours to bring about the divorce because she was very anxious to be married to Henry, duke of Normandy, and heir to the English throne. Now she was the only daughter and heiress of the duke of Aquitaine, or, as we now call it, Gascony. As soon then as her marriage with the king had been dissolved, she lost no time in seeking the match with the duke which she had so much coveted. And so it came to pass that duke Henry became possessed of the duchy of Aquitaine, by the hereditary right of his wife, against the will of the king of France, though justice required that it should be so; and he annexed it to the duchy of Normandy and to the earldoms of Anjou and Maine. And he began to be accounted as one of the most famous among the poten-

of sweech kynrod ech of hem was contrari to othir, for thei cam fro the Devel, and to the Devel schul goo. It is eke reported that Seint Bernard schuld sey the same of this King Herry, noting her by who that Gefrey, this mans fader, ded gelde Gerard, the bischop Sagiensis, and prophecyng of the grete wrong that this man schuld do to Seynt Thomas. Fer-

thermore, this Gefrey Plauntgenet warned Herry his sone that he schuld in no wise wedde Helianore the qwen of Frauns, for he told him in very treuth that whan he was Steward of Frauns, and dwelled with the Kyng, he had comounde with the same qwen ofte tyme."

¹ Louis VII. le Jeune.

A.D. 1151. tates of the world. These ample possessions Henry retained and continued to hold, as did also his posterity, until the time of John, who, when innumerable troubles were thickening around him, lost them all through his own imbecile conduct.

A.D. 1153. In the year of our Lord 1154,¹ judgment looked down from Heaven, and king Stephen, deprived of every ray of hope, through the intercession and intervention of the nobles of the land so far² came to terms of agreement with the duke Henry that he acknowledged, in an assembly of the nobles of England, that the duke Henry had an hereditary right to the kingdom of England. And the duke generously permitted king Stephen to retain the kingdom in peace for the remainder of his life. Nevertheless the agreement was confirmed in such manner that the king himself and the bishops who were then present, as well as the other nobles of the realm, swore that duke Henry, after the death of Stephen, in case he should survive him, should obtain the kingdom without gainsaying. And with a view to preserving this compact inviolate, a formal deed was drawn up, and ordered to be kept in as secure a place as possible.

A.D. 1154.
Death of
Stephen.
Henry II.
succeeds
him.

On the death of Stephen king Henry the Second began to reign.

And in his first year was born at London his son Henry,³ heir apparent to the throne.

¹ This is the date given in the MS. Cotton. The MS. C.C.C. has M.CLIII., which is the correct date.

² This treaty was made on the 7th of November, 1153, in consequence of the death of Eustace, Stephen's eldest son, and the heir to his throne, on the 18th of August, in the same year. Stephen himself died about twelve months after, and was buried in the Abbey Church of Feversham.

³ William, Henry's eldest son, who

was born in 1152, was acknowledged heir to the throne in 1156, but he died soon afterwards, and was buried in Reading Abbey. Henry, his second son, was born in 1155, and married when very young to the daughter of Louis VII. On the 15th of June, 1170, he was crowned at Westminster by Roger, Archbishop of York. This was done by his Father's wish, but in 1183 he treacherously assisted his brother Geof.

About the same time, namely in the year of our Lord A.D. 1155. 1155, he sent special ambassadors to Rome, and asked Pope Adrian ¹ (who had been but recently elected, and whose favour he confidently expected to secure, seeing that the said Pope was an Englishman and born at S. Alban's,) to give him leave to invade Ireland with a hostile army, and to bring it under his own rule, and, as was right, to recall its wild inhabitants to the Faith of Christ, and with all due fidelity to attach them to the Church of Rome. In this the Pope gladly consented to the king, and moreover confirmed to him his sanction by a Bull.

Now the tenor of the Bull granted to Henry the Second The Bull of
Adrian IV. by Pope Adrian in reference to the expedition for the conquest of Ireland, was as follows:—

“ADRIAN, BISHOP, THE SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, TO HIS BELOVED SON, HENRY, THE ILLUSTRIOUS KING OF ENGLAND, HEALTH AND THE APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.²”

“Worthily of all praise and profit doth thy Majesty meditate the spreading of the knowledge of the Glorious Name on earth, and the multiplying of the reward of eternal happiness in the Heavens, whilst, as a Catholic Prince is bound, thou labourest to extend the borders of the Church, to declare the verity of the Christian faith among an irreligious and ignorant people, and to root out from the Lord's heritage the plants of vice; and to the better attaining of this end thou demandest the counsel and sanction of the Apostolic See.

frey in his disgraceful contest with the King and their brother Richard: he died on the 11th of June in the same year.

¹ Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspere.) The King did not avail himself of the permissions of the Papal Bull till many years after. His authority in Ireland was acknowledged in 1175 by Roderic, King of Connaught, and other Irish chieftains. Two years later John,

the King's youngest son, was made “Lord of Ireland;” but it appears that the English power in that island was merely nominal until, after the lapse of about two hundred years, it was nominally annexed in the reign of Edward III. A.D. 1357. [31 Ed. iii. 4. ch. 1—19.]

² See Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 19; Wilkins' *Concil.*, i. 26. See also Mansi's “*Conciliorum Nova Collectio*,” xxi. 788.

A.D. 1155.

The Bull of
Adrian IV.

“And in this matter the wiser the advice and the greater the discretion with which thou dost proceed, the more favourable, as we confidently believe, will be thy success therein by the blessing of God, forasmuch as those endeavours are always wont to attain to a prosperous result and end which have their rise in zeal for the faith and love for religion.

“Of a truth there can be no doubt that Ireland, and all the islands on which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shone, and which have received the knowledge of the articles of the Christian faith, appertain to the right of the blessed Peter, and of the most holy Roman Church, which thy majesty also recogniseth. Wherefore, with all the more diligence should we plant there the root of faith and the germ which is pleasing to God, according as we see that it is needed after strict examination.

“Thou hast signified to us, most dear Son in Christ, that thou art eager to invade the island of Ireland, to make its inhabitants subject to legal government, and to extirpate from among them the offshoots of error; and that thou art willing, moreover, to pay to the blessed Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house, and to preserve inviolate and in their integrity the rights of the churches of that land.

“We, therefore, taking into our favourable consideration thy pious and praiseworthy desire, and giving our glad consent to the prayer of thy petition, declare it to be pleasing and acceptable to us, that, for the extension of the bounds of the Church, the checking of the progress of vices, the correction of morals and the implanting of virtues, and for the spreading of the religion of Christ, thou shouldst invade the country, and carry out everything that has for its object its salvation and the honour of God; that, moreover, the people of the land are to receive thee with honour, and to pay thee all reverence as their lord. Provided only that the rights of the churches remain inviolate and unimpaired, saving in their submission to the

blessed Peter, and the payment to the most holy Roman Church of an annual tribute of one penny for each house. A.D. 1155.
The Bull of
Adrian IV.

"If then thou shalt bring to a prosperous issue that which thou hast in thy mind, be diligent to form the manners of the nation aright, and endeavour, as well thyself as by the instrumentality of others, whom thou shalt perceive to be fitted for this work in faith, in conversation and in life, that the Church in that land may be duly adorned, that the religion of the faith of Christ be planted and flourish, and that all things which appertain to the honour of God and the salvation of souls be so ordered that thou mayest merit to attain at God's hands a full measure of the everlasting reward, and that thou mayest win on earth in this present time a glorious name."

Alexander,¹ moreover, the successor of the said Adrian, confirmed this Bull.²

In the second year of king Henry's reign,³ and in the year of our Lord 1156, the seamless coat of Christ was found by divine revelation in France; and, as the letter found with the coat itself testified, His mother had made it for Him, and it grew larger with His growth. Moreover, the "Polychronicon" informs us that in the year of our Lord 607, in the time of the Emperor Phocas, the Lord's seamless coat was found in the valley of Jehosaphat A.D. 1156.
Discovery
of the
seamless
coat.

¹ Alexander III.

² See Mansi's "Conciliorum Collectio Nova," xxii. 132, where an account of the Council of Cashel, (extracted from Hoveden,) is given, which ends as follows:—

"But the King of England sent a transcript of the charters of all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to Alexander the Pope; who, by his Apostolical authority, confirmed to him and to his heirs the Kingdom of Ireland, according to the form of the charters of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland."

³ Our author might have found

something more edifying than this account of the "seamless coat" among the numerous events of importance which happened at this period, and which he has passed over. Under the year 1160 he speaks of Henry's return from Toulouse, but gives no explanation of what he was doing there. In the previous year he had claimed Toulouse in the right of Eleanor of Guienne, his wife, and had laid siege to it unsuccessfully. War with the King of France ensued, but the struggle was of short duration, and peace was restored in the winter of the following year.

A.D. 1156. by Gregory, bishop of Antioch, and was carried in a marble chest to Jerusalem.¹

A.D. 1160. In the year of our Lord 1160, the said king Henry, Prince Henry marries Margaret of France. while returning from Toulouse, caused to be arranged at Bourges, with all due solemnity, a marriage between Margaret,² the daughter of the French king, and but three years of age, whose guardian he then was, with Henry his son, who was then only seven years old.

A.D. 1162. In the year of our Lord 1162, Thomas, the king's chancellor, and archdeacon of Canterbury, was consecrated Thomas à Becket. archbishop on the third day before the nones of June,³ on the first Sunday after Whitsuntide.

At about the same time king Henry caused all the nobles to swear fealty to Henry his son. And among all the other nobles of the realm, Thomas, the archbishop, was the first to take the oath of allegiance, saving his allegiance to the king, as long as he should live.

And soon after the said Thomas resigned the royal seal, — at which the king was much annoyed, — and thenceforth changed his life of activity in the Court for one of the utmost sanctity.

A.D. 1163. In the year of our Lord 1163, the ninth of Henry's Council at Tours. reign, Pope Alexander, setting out on a voyage over the trackless sea, in order that he might frustrate the designs of Octavian and Frederic, bid farewell to Apulia, and made his way into France. And when the kings of England and France met him and did him honour, and showed him pleasing favour, he called together all the prelates of the Western Church, and held a general Council in the city of Tours.⁴ And the venerable Thomas of Canterbury was present at the Council.

¹ See Higden's Polychronicon, v., ch. 10.

² After her husband's death she married Bela II., the King of Hungary, and died in 1198 at Acre.

³ June 3rd, or, according to other

authorities, on Whitsunday itself, May 27.

⁴ Against the Albigenses, and to consider certain points of discipline. The Council assembled on the 19th of May.

Now from that time king Henry withdrew his heart and affection from Thomas the archbishop, and thereafter prepared plots and difficulties for him. It happened, also, at the same time, that Roger, earl of Clare, was summoned by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to do homage to him for his castle of Tunbridge. And when the king heard of this he cunningly forbade its being done; and this was the first unmistakeable sign of the king's hatred.

In the year following there was made at Clarendon,¹ in the presence of the king and the nobles of the realm, a confirmation of the royal liberties and customs; and because Thomas of Canterbury gave not his consent, he went away under the king's severe displeasure.

A.D. 1164.
Council of
Clarendon.

And in the twelfth year of this king, the aforesaid archbishop Thomas excommunicated all the upholders of the royal liberties and customs which had been promulgated at Clarendon; styling them rather execrable abuses than privileges or liberties; and certain persons who supported the king, both of the clergy and the laity, in this matter, he excommunicated by name.

A.D. 1166.

At that time king Henry procured the banishment of Thomas from Pontigny, and shortly after he exiled² from England, without pity, his entire family, and that not only

¹ The Council of Clarendon assembled on the 25th of January.

² Becket left Northampton on the 19th of November, the day after the last day of the Second Council which was held there shortly after the Council of Clarendon. He was sheltered by the Cistercian monks at Pontigny, in Burgundy, and his cause was supported by the French King. No less than four hundred of his relations and connections were sent into exile with him. He was formally restored to his See on the 3rd of December, 1170, but was

murdered at St. Benedict's altar only twenty days afterwards. It is now generally acknowledged that the King was guiltless of having directly instigated the murderers, though it is impossible to doubt, so extreme was his hatred of Becket, that his conduct towards him was indirectly the cause of his cruel end. Three years after this event, Becket was canonized by Pope Alexander III., and so popular a Saint did he become that there still remain in England between sixty and seventy churches which bear his name.

A.D. 1166. from London but from the whole realm. About the same period the bishops of England went over to the king's side, and became, in the support they gave to his cause, persecutors of the blessed Thomas.

A.D. 1170. Moreover, after he had been in exile seven years, he
 Death of Becket. came into England, and was martyred there, as many say without the king's knowledge. For after his martyrdom king Henry sent special messengers to Pope Alexander in reference to the violent death of S. Thomas, who solemnly, on his behalf, on their oath, declared him innocent of the deed. But Pope Alexander, when he had received the ambassadors in the Tusculan city, and had heard what they had to say, sent two cardinals into the land of France,¹ to inquire into the king's innocence. And the king swore in their presence that neither by his advice or command had he been slain; but forasmuch as he had been killed on the occasion of a disturbance which he had stirred up against himself, in consideration of that he forthwith offered that two hundred knights should remain in the parts beyond the seas every year, and that he himself would assume the cross and join them within the space of three years.

A.D. 1171. In the eighteenth year of his reign, certain revelations
 Warnings given to the King. began to be made to him, warning him especially to correct his life.

First of all, by a certain old man at Cardiff Castle, in Wales, on the Sunday in the octave of Easter,² where, after hearing mass, while the king was hastening to mount his horse, there suddenly appeared to him a certain old man with yellow hair and a round tonsure: thin he was and tall, clad in a white garment, and barefooted, and he addressed the king in the Teutonic tongue, as follows:—

¹ They declared the King innocent, but condemned Brito, Fitzurse, De Moreville, and Tracy, assigning them, as a penance, a pilgrimage to

the Holy Land, where they all died within a short time.

² April 4. Easter Day fell on the 28th of March in the year 1171.

"Good holde, knyth:¹ Christ salutes thee, and so do his blessed Mother, and John Baptist, and Peter who wields the Keys, charging thee that throughout all thy dominions there be no traffic carried on, or any servile work done on Sundays, those labours only excepted which pertain to the use of food. This if thou shalt do, whatsoever thou shalt take in hand thou shalt bring to a prosperous issue." A.D. 1171.

Then said the king in French to the knight who held his reins, "Ask the rustic whether he dreamed that."

And while the knight was interpreting this in English, the other added in the language he had used before, "Whether I have dreamed it or not, remember what day it is to-day, for unless thou shalt do these things and shalt amend thy life, thou shalt hear such tidings within this present year that thenceforth thou shalt grieve even to the end of thy days." And when he had thus spoken, the man disappeared.

And within that year the king's three sons, Henry, Geoffrey, and John, took the part of the king of France² against their father; the king of Scotland³ also, and the earl of Chester,⁴ revolted against the king. And many other warnings were sent to him from Heaven, but all these had but little effect.

In the second place, namely, a certain Irishman admonished him, adding, moreover, secret signs.

In the third place a certain knight, Philip de Esterby, crossed the Channel into France, and laid before the king,

¹ *Good holde, Knyth.*] See page 38 of the "De Instructione Principum" of Giraldus Cambrensis. (8vo. London, 1846). The words are there given thus:—"God houlde dhe Cuning!" i.e. "God keep thee, O King!"

² Louis VII.

³ William I.

⁴ Hugh Cyvelioc, who succeeded Randle (surnamed de Gernons) in the year 1128, and died in the year

1180. The whole of this account of the warnings is extracted by Capgrave (but without acknowledgment) from the *Polychronicon* of Higden. The latter here adds "*et comes Laycestria:*" the Earl of Leicester at that time was Robert Blanchmains, who succeeded his father Robert de Bossu (the second Earl) in the year 1167, and died in the year 1190.

A.D. 1171. in Normandy, seven distinct heads in which he was to amend his ways, declaring that if he did so he should live for the space of seven years in great honour, and should rescue the Cross of Christ from His enemies; otherwise he should die ignominiously after the lapse of four years. The first three articles related to the oaths he took on his coronation day, as to the conservation of the Church of God, the enacting of just laws, the prevention of any one, however guilty, being condemned without a judgment. The fourth head had reference to the restoration of plundered inheritances; the fifth to due execution of justice without bribery; the sixth to the payment of the stipends of his officers; the seventh related to the expulsion of the Jews from the realm, just enough money being left to them to enable them to depart.

A.D. 1173.

The King's
sons rebel.

But when the king did not amend his ways, many powerful and brave men rose against him. For Henry, his eldest son, who had been but lately crowned by his father's desire, in order that he might possess the kingdom in the greater security, having associated with him two of his brothers, as well as the king of France, whose daughter he had married, began to disturb his father's peace even by going to war with him, so that the king saw his own offspring in rebellion against him in punishment of the great crime for which he had not yet atoned.

A.D. 1174.

He does
penance at
Becket's
tomb.

Then the king was reconciled¹ to the Church of Canterbury, and did penance, and made a vow to Saint Thomas, and specially invoking him, went to Canterbury, and was absolved by the monks in the Chapter House, abandoning those Customs on account of which the blessed Thomas had striven even to the death.

¹ The first step towards this reconciliation was made in the preceding year on the election of Richard of Dover to the See of Canterbury. At first Henry refused to confirm his election, but on his

swearing fealty to the King, the latter was appeased, and, on Richard's confirmation by the Pope in April, 1174, consented to give up the Constitutions of Clarendon.

Meanwhile, through the earnest mediation of many, an agreement was made between king Henry, and his son Henry, the junior king, on the condition that as the son had offended his father, he should come humbly to his father, and publicly acknowledge his guilt. This he did, and obtained pardon. Moreover he gave a threefold guarantee by oath that he would not for the future trouble his father; namely, by taking his own personal oath, by bringing forward certain lords as sureties, and lastly by giving bail. His three younger brothers, also, their father easily and readily received again into favour, because their youth was sufficient excuse for them. And these remained with their father; but their elder brother fixed his abode in the provinces of Anjou and Aquitaine, which his father had granted to him.¹

A.D. 1174.

Is reconciled to his sons.

In the year of our Lord 1177, the twenty-third of Henry's reign, the ambassadors of the king of Castile,² and those of the king of Navarre,³ and of Manuel,⁴ emperor of Constantinople, of Frederic, emperor of the Romans,⁵ of William, archbishop of Treves, of Philip,⁶ count of Flanders, and of Henry, duke of Saxony, whom negotiations on various matters had drawn together, as if by agreement, met all in one place, in the Court of king Henry at Westminster, on the day before the Ides of November.⁷ And we have mentioned this, in order that it may be known to all of how great wisdom was king Henry, and of how great magnificence, at the rumour of which the widely dispersed councils of the whole world assembled together.

A.D. 1177.

In the year of our Lord 1182, the twenty-eighth of Henry's reign, the said king Henry, at Waltham, in the

A.D. 1182.

¹ In the year 1175, (omitted by Capgrave,) the subjugation of Ireland, permitted by the Bull of Pope Adrian IV., which has been already quoted at length, was attempted, and in part effected.

² Alphonso IX. the Noble.

³ Sancho VI. the Wise.

⁴ Manuel I. Comnenus.

⁵ Frederic I. Barbarossa.

⁶ Philip of Alsace.

⁷ November 12th.

A. D. 1182. presence of the nobles of the realm,¹ liberally assigned for the succour of the Holy Land forty-two thousand marks of silver, and five hundred marks of gold.

A. D. 1183. In the following year, on the day of St. Barnabas the
Death of Prince Henry. Apostle,² the younger Henry died in a foreign land, the son of king Henry the Second, a youth of excellent promise. He was buried first at Le Mans, and afterwards at Rouen. A certain poet has written of him as follows:—

“Our country's honour; glory of the world;
Splendour of Knighthood! shrewd as Julius,
And brave as Hector; as Achilles strong;
Lovely as Paris; as Augustus good!”

Concerning the death of this younger king, and in order to prevent the king, his father, from grieving over much at his loss, Peter of Blois wrote a notable epistle. See the Book of his Letters: Letter the first.³

A. D. 1185. In the thirty-first year of king Henry's reign,⁴ came

¹ To atone, as we learn from other historians, for the murder of Becket, the guilt of which seems always to have pressed sorely on the King, notwithstanding his solemn protestations of innocence.

² June 11th.

³ This is not exactly correct. The letter alluded to is the second, the first being nothing more than an Epistle Dedicatory to King Henry II. See the works of Peter of Blois (Ed. Paris, 1667). The argument of this Second Epistle is as follows:—“*Solatur regem*,” &c. He consoles King Henry the father, who was grieving more than was right for the death of his son Henry the Third, and proves that it is a pious custom to mourn for the dead if the grief be moderate; and that there could be no reason for deplo-
ring so bitterly a son's death,

when he so deeply repented the errors of his past life as to leave no doubt that he had exchanged this life for the life eternal.

⁴ The Kingdom of Jerusalem was at this time in great peril. The throne, which was afterwards given to Guy of Lusignan, the husband of Sibylla, sister of Baldwin IV., had just been vacated by the death of Baldwin V. after a reign of less than a year. Baldwin IV. had been a leper for a long time, and unfit for the management of his Kingdom, while rivals contended for the regency. The French and English Kings had promised to defend the Holy City, in this emergency, against Saladin, who had taken the opportunity afforded by these troubles to rebel. The former King died, before he could fulfil his promise, and Henry found so much difficulty in preserving

Eraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, into England, unto king Henry, seeking his aid against the Saracens, and offering to him, in behalf of all the Christian nobles of the East, the keys of the Holy City, and of our Lord's Sepulchre, with the royal standard, and letters commonitory from Pope Lucius,¹ and relating to the oath which the king had before taken in reference to this matter. But king Henry deferred giving his answer till he reached London.

A.D. 1185.
The Patriarch of Jerusalem visits England.

At length when many, including Baldwin, took the sign of the Cross, on the exhortation of the Patriarch, the king answered that he could not leave his dominions unprotected, nor expose them to the rapacity of the French, but that he was ready to supply abundantly with money from his privy purse those who were willing to go.

His interview with the King.

And the Patriarch answered him:—"Thou doest nothing, O King. We seek not money but a leader. Almost every region of the world sends us money, but none a leader. We seek for a man indeed without money, and not for money without a man."

peace at home, that he would not be prevailed upon to join the Crusades.

The following translation of this narrative by Capgrave himself (extracted from his *Chronicle of England*, page 141) is sufficiently curious to justify its insertion:—

"In XXXI. ȝere of Herry cam into this lond Eraclius, Patriark of Jerusalem, with letteris of the Pope Lucius, and prayed the Kyng to strength hem ageyn the Sarasines. He excused him be the werre that he had with Frauns. With his good, he seid, he wold help; with his body he myte not. Than the Patriark seide, 'Alle the partes of the world send us money; we seke a prince, and not money.' The Kyng folowid him onto Dover, and plesed him with fayre wordis. But the Patriark seide onto him on this

wise, 'Thou at this tyme forsakest the laboure for thi Lord. Before this tyme thou hast regned in gret joye: fro this tyme schal thou regne in gret misery. To the Kyng of Frauns hast thou be fals. Seynt Thomas hast thou killid; and now to forsake the proteccion of alle Cristen men!' But whan the Patriarch aspid that the Kyng was wroth, for he wex pale for angir, he bowed his hed and his nek, and seide, 'Do with me, as thou ded to Seynt Thomas. I had as lef be killid of the in Ingland, as of a Sarasine in Surre; for I hold the wers than ony Sarasine.' The Kyng seide, 'And alle my men had o body and o mouth, thei dnrst not sey that thou seist.' And he answered, 'Thei follow the pray, and not the man:' and so thei departed."

¹ Lucius III.

A.D. 1185. So the Patriarch departed disappointed of his hope ; but the king followed him to Dover, seeking by his wonted affability to remove the offence he had given.

But the Patriarch said to him :—"Hitherto thou hast reigned gloriously, but henceforth He whom thou hast deserted will desert thee. Consider what great things the Lord hath done for thee, and how thou hast repaid Him. Remember how thou didst behave treacherously to the French king, and how thou didst murder the blessed Thomas, and now thou hast refused thy protection to the Christians."

And when the king, on hearing these words, warmed with anger, the Patriarch offered him his head and his neck, saying, "Do unto me as thou didst unto Thomas. I would as fain be killed by thee in England as by the infidels in Syria, for thou art worse than any Saracen." And the King replied :—"Though all my people had but one body, and spoke with one mouth, they would not dare to say such things to me."

The other answered : "And no marvel, seeing they love not thee, but thine: the crowd follows the plunder, not the man."

Then said the king : "I cannot leave the country, because my sons would rise against me in my absence."

"And no wonder," said the other, "from the devil they came, to the devil they will go."

In the same year the Saracens took Jerusalem, and carried away the sacred Cross, when they had slain the master of the Knights Templars, and many others.

A.D. 1189.
Death of
Henry II.

Now the said king Henry died on the day before the nones of July,¹ after a reign of thirty-four years, seven months and five days, and he was buried beyond the sea in the noble monastery belonging to the monks of Fontevrault. Even while he was dying, all those who stood round him gave way to such rapacity that his body was long allowed to

¹ July 6th.

lie bare, until a certain boy covered the lower limbs of the corpse with a short cloak. Then did the surname appear to be fulfilled which he had borne from his infancy, "Henry Curtmanteles,"¹ that is "with a short robe," for he was the first to introduce short robes from Anjou into England. A.D. 1189.

Now as to the character and vices of this king, Giraldus Cambrensis² thus treats in his *Distinctions*: — "King Henry was a man of somewhat ruddy complexion, with a large head, and a broad chest, grey eyes, a broken voice, and a stout body, though he was moderate both in eating and drinking, and in order to keep down his corpulency he wore down his body with violent exercise, such as long standing, and continual walking about. Character of Hen. II.

In stature he was of the middle height; he was eloquent also, and a man of letters.

In war he was brave, in private life provident, in battle dreading only treacherous deeds. He was always kinder to a slain soldier, than to one who survived the combat, rather grieving for the dead than loving the living.

In stress of evil circumstances no one could be kinder; when fortune smiled again, no one more unbending. He was cruel towards³ those whom he could not conquer, and often gentle to the conquered.

In domestic matters he was hard to deal with, in things external profuse; liberal in public, frugal in private.

If once he entertained hatred or love for any one, he could scarcely ever be brought to another mind. He readily broke his word, answered roughly on every occa-

¹ "Henricus Curtemanteles," id est, cum curto mantello." Latin Text.

² See the *Hibernia Expugnata* of Giraldus Cambrensis, bk. i. chap. xlv. in Camden's "*Anglica Scripta*," page 783. Capgrave's quotation is very loosely made: in the edition of the Latin Text, the two have been

carefully collated, and all the differences between them pointed out.

³ The Historian evidently refers to the Welsh, who successfully resisted his invasion of their country in 1165, at which he was so much enraged that he even put to death some hostages whom he had in his power.

A.D. 1189.
Character
of Hen. II.

sion; loved quiet, but oppressed the nobles. He was a seller and a hinderer of justice, a breaker of promises, changeful and crafty in his speech; an open adulterer; a persecutor of the Church; to God always ungrateful.

He did continually all he could¹ to foster discord among his sons, his only hope being that peace would result to himself from their quarrels.

If the limits of his expeditions be sought, the world itself will find its end, before their end shall come. Territories, indeed, will be able to yield to his brave spirit; victories know not how to yield; nor shall his triumphs fail, but the modes of triumphing. In both kinds of warfare, that of Mars and that of Minerva, he was singularly distinguished. Moreover, by his firmness he kept in tranquillity his hereditary possessions; he subdued Ireland by a powerful fleet; having taken king William prisoner, he annexed the kingdom of Scotland, and, as it were, including all the lands under one rule, he gloriously extended his empire from the southern sea even to the far-north Orkney Islands, a point which no one is reported to have reached after the time of Julius Cæsar. Moreover in foreign parts, besides Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and Maine, which had descended to him from his father by hereditary right, he reduced to subjection Poitou and Gascongne, as far as the Pyrenees (mountains of Spain), which accrued to him by marriage, as well as Auvergne, and certain other lands. He used, also, to say among those who conversed with him that for a man of might and wisdom the whole world was little enough.

On several occasions the kings of Spain referred to this king to arbitrate the differences between them. And although in some cases he was successful, and under his happy auspices, as it were by the special favour of Fortune,

¹ Especially in his tacit permission of the war which was carried on by his sons Henry and Geoffrey, and,

after the death of the former, by Geoffrey and John, against their brother Richard.

all the hindrances to peace had been made to yield to his prayers, some things nevertheless happened to him as by an evil fate, to his own humiliation, except he became penitent; but in case of his continuing obstinate the persecutor would have trouble in his own flesh. For instance, (and this was his chief crime,) he wrongfully divorced from Louis, her lord, Eleanor, the queen of France, and actually married her, though he could not lawfully do so. And concerning her, Geoffrey of Anjou, his father, altogether prohibited him from touching her, on the ground that he had himself known her when he was seneschall of the king of France. By her, nevertheless, the king had four sons,¹ Henry, Geoffrey, Richard, and John, and six noble daughters, the eldest of whom, Matilda,² he married to the duke of Saxony;³ the second, Eleanor,⁴ to the king of Spain;⁵ the third, Joanna,⁶ to the king of Sicily.⁷

A.D. 1189.
Character
of Hen. II.

His child-
ren.

And let what we have said concerning this king⁸ suffice, for we do not read that his other daughters were married.

¹ He had five sons: William, born in 1152, who died in his youth; Henry, born in 1155; Richard, born in 1157, who succeeded his father; Geoffrey, born in 1158, and accidentally killed at Paris in 1186; and John, born in 1166, who was afterwards King.

² She was born in 1156, at London, and died in 1189.

³ Henry, surnamed the Lion.

⁴ Born in Normandy, in the year 1162.

⁵ Alphonso III. King of Castile: she died in 1214.

⁶ Born at Angers, in the year 1165: she died in 1199.

⁷ William, called "the Good." Her second husband was Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse.

⁸ Of the numerous illegitimate children of King Henry, the most famous were William Longespee, who greatly distinguished himself for his valour in France, in the reign of his brother John, and died in the year 1226; and Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, who was a great favourite of Henry, and was alone of all his sons present at his death.

OF HENRY THE THIRD,

KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER III.

Henry III. HENRY THE THIRD, king of England, the son of king
 A.D. 1216. John, received the crown, indeed, when quite a child, but not in the accustomed place, because of Louis, the son of the king of France,¹ who at that time held London and the adjacent provinces. Now as to the title and his prospect of success, on which the said Louis based his claim to the kingdom, by forming one inference from many opinions, we make a statement of the case as briefly as possible.

Louis,
 Dauphin
 of France,
 claims the
 crown.

On the death of prince Henry, the eldest son of Henry the Second, before his father, the father himself being also dead, reigned Richard, that most victorious king, and he, on his decease, left Arthur as his heir, the son of his younger brother Geoffrey, called Plantagenet, and count of Anjou. But John, his youngest brother, seized on the kingdom, and imprisoned Arthur, and put him to death. Now the said Louis had married Arthur's sister. When, therefore, the nobles of this fair kingdom could not endure the tyranny of John, they offered the kingdom to this Louis, while the said Henry the Third was yet a child.

Now the said Henry was born in the year of our Lord 1208, in the tenth year of the reign of John, about the

¹ Philip II.

time of the commencement of the interdict which lasted seven years. A.D. 1216.

And in the year of our Lord 1216, on the death of John, the legate Gualo and many of the nobles of England met in council at Gloucester. And forasmuch as Westminster, which is the place generally assigned for the coronation of our kings, was at the time being besieged by his enemies, with Louis at their head, on that account the said Henry, the eldest son of king John, was anointed king, and solemnly crowned, before the high altar in the Conventual Church at Gloucester. For the nobles who dwelt in the north of England, and in the Marches of Wales, together with the other faithful men who detested the party of Louis, and aimed at establishing peace and tranquillity in the realm, chose Henry, the son of John, as being the rightful heir, and conducted him to Gloucester. And there the afore-said barons, not waiting for the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury,¹ placed a kind of chaplet² upon his head instead of the royal diadem, and in the presence, and with the assistance of the archbishop of Dublin, and Gualo, the legate of the Apostolic See, (who nevertheless did not lay their hands upon him, lest their doing so should be to the prejudice of the See of Canterbury,) elevated him to the throne with all the solemnity they could. And the king by public edict caused it to be proclaimed throughout all England, that no lay person, either male or female, should go out of their house for a whole month, unless they wore a chaplet³ upon their head, in token to the whole realm of the coronation of the new king. This coronation took place on the fifth day before the kalends of November,⁴ from which day the dates were computed in the briefs of king Henry as long as he lived.

Coronation
of Henry
III. at
Gloucester.

From that time forth, many nobles of the land deserted

¹ Stephen Langton. He was Archbishop from the 17th of June, 1206 (or 1207), to the 9th of July, 1228.

² Sertum.

³ Sertulum.

⁴ October 28.

A.D. 1216. Louis, and surrendered themselves to king Henry; and that according to the law of the land which provides that, "when a man's father dies possessed of any property, his son should receive his inheritance *de jure*." And there was another reason, namely, that Louis, on the death of John, had already shown himself to be of a hateful and proud spirit, and he ravaged their fortresses and lands, setting the English, and the treaty which he had confirmed with them, at nought. Accordingly, the nobles of the land gave their faithful allegiance to the youthful Henry, who had done nothing towards them worthy of blame.

A.D. 1217.
Siege of
Lincoln.

In the year, then, of our Lord 1218, the third¹ of Henry's reign, Louis, holding in contempt the coronation of the new king, on account of his tender years, and judging that by reason of his extreme youth he would be powerless against his efforts, resolved to make a bold attempt; and, trusting in the number of his partizans, he left the city of London, and, proceeding northwards, made a sudden attack on the most noble city of Lincoln, with a view to reducing it also, as he had already reduced London, to his dominion. But contrary to his expectations the attempt was unsuccessful. For when Louis came, accompanied by a countless host of warriors, to besiege the city on the southern side, where the entrance is, those nobles of England who had joined themselves to the new king, came from the northern quarter against him, quite a match for him both in strength and numbers, and, immediately engaging the French, captured or slew almost all of them. The count of Perche, in whose bravery the French especially trusted, was there taken captive.

When Louis saw this, he begged for the things which make for peace. Accordingly, as soon as the legate Gualo,

¹ *the third.*] Capgrave has written "the first" (*primo*) in his own copy, and in this blunder the Scribe of the Cottonian MS. has followed him.

The siege of Lincoln took place in the year 1217; according to Capgrave's date, 1218, he should have written "*anno tertio*."

with the bishops and clergy, and William Marshal,¹ the guardian of the kingdom and of the king's person, had assembled together, they treated concerning peace. And in a certain wood near Kingston-upon-Thames, peace was established between the king and the said Louis, on the Eve of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,² Louis himself having been first absolved from the sentence of excommunication by which he was bound, on the condition that he and his partizans should swear on the Holy Gospels to abide by the decision of the Church, and he should himself depart with all his followers from the realm of England, never to return, or to seek to lay any blame on the barons of England, whom he had deceived by lies. Moreover, he was, without feigning, to do all he could to induce his father to restore to king Henry all that belonged to him, and to give up all claim to the same without raising any difficulties, whenever he should himself succeed to the throne of France.³ And afterwards king Henry swore, as

A.D. 1217.

Peace is established.

¹ Richard de Clare (surnamed Strongbow), Justice of Ireland, the son of Gilbert de Clare, first Earl of Pembroke, died in the year 1176, without male issue. His daughter and heiress, Isabel de Clare, married William Marshal, who thereby acquired the Earldom of Pembroke in the year 1189. He was Marshal of England, and the father of William Marshal, one of the twenty-five Barons who were appointed to enforce Magna Charta.

² September 13.

³ Capgrave says nothing here of the sum of money which was paid to Louis. The account given in his *Chronicle of England* is as follows:—

“Some afir that, be mediacion of the legat Guallo, the parties were gadered in a wood fast be Kyngston upon Temse, and there was a trefy of pes. And, afir mech thing rehersid, Lodewyk was bownde be his

oth that alle the londis which the Kyng of Ynglond had sumtyimme in his possession, as Normandie, Gyan, and swech othir, schuld be restored ageyn to King Herry, and that he schuld laboure to his fader that he schuld consent thereto. Thus were thei acorded; and Lodewyk went hom into Frauns. The cite of London lent him vM. pound to his costis.”

Here the sum is mentioned, but “the cite of London lent” it to him. “Roger of Wendover says that ‘Louis received £5,000 to meet his necessities, and then, under the conduct of the Earl of Pembroke, went with all speed to the sea-coast, and thence with lasting ignominy crossed to France.’ It would seem, however, from a document in the Close Rolls, dated Feb. 12, 1218, that his withdrawal was procured by at least the promise of a further sum, for in

A.D. 1217. did also the legate, and the marshal, and the nobles there assembled, to restore to the barons of England, and all other subjects of the realm of England, their rights and inheritances, together with all the liberties previously demanded, and to secure which the war had been set on foot.

A.D. 1220. In the year of our Lord, 1220, the fourth of Henry's reign, the king founded a new monastery at Westminster, in honour of God, and of S. Peter and S. Edward. And the said king laid the first stone on the Eve of the Octave of S. Martin.¹

A.D. 1227. Now in the twelfth year of his reign, the archbishop of Henry is Bordeaux came into England, being sent to the king by invited by the nobles of Gascony, Aquitaine, and Poitou. There the Gascons. came also with him special ambassadors from Normandy, all of whom agreed in proposing that the king should visit his foreign territories in security, and promising that the nobles would stand stedfastly to his rights, and to the recovery of all that he had lost. But when Hubert de Burgh heard this, he put off the matter to a future day, till a more propitious time should smile on them. And when the ambassadors could obtain no other answer, they returned to their own land. This Hubert was earl of Kent, and justiciary.

A.D. 1235. In the year of our Lord 1235, the eighteenth of Henry's reign, the said king sent ambassadors into Provence to negotiate a marriage between himself and Eleanor, the daughter of the count of Provence.² And their nuptials were celebrated at Westminster on the feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian,³ with unprecedented solemnity.

Moreover, in the same year, on Whit Sunday,⁴ the

it the King says, 'We owe a heavy debt unto Louis the French King's son, by agreement made between us that he would depart out of our realm, which at length the Lord hath marvellously and mercifully procured.' See *Annals of England*, a very useful book for the Student

of English History, recently published by Parker of Oxford, i. 302.

¹ November 17.

² Raymond V.

³ January 20.

⁴ That is on the 27th of May in the year 1235. The marriage took

emperor Frederic espoused Isabella, the sister of Henry king of England. A.D. 1235.

In the twenty-second year of his reign was born Edward, king Henry's eldest son, at Westminster, on the fifteenth day before the kalends of July,¹ on the feast of S. Botolph. His mother was Eleanor, the daughter of the count of Provence. This Edward was baptized by Otho the legate, and confirmed by S. Edmund, the archbishop.² A.D. 1239.
Edward I.
born.

In the twenty-fifth year of Henry's reign, the said king, accompanied by the queen and his brother Richard, with seven earls and many knights,—the expedition numbered about three hundred ships in all,—proceeded towards Bordeaux, where he had a conflict with the king of France; but the latter was compelled to seek a five years' truce from the king of England, which he obtained. Then king Henry demanded of the king of France that he would restore to him Poitou, Anjou, and the other territories beyond the sea which belonged to him by hereditary right, and which the French king had unjustly retained, but he availed nothing. For not even would he condescend to restore the duchy of Normandy, over which Henry had the older claim. Accordingly the king marched into Gascony, attended by no small retinue. And while he was there, the queen bore him a daughter, whom he called Margaret. Some, however, say that she was called Beatrice,³ through the influence of the Countess of Provence of that name. A.D. 1242.
Henry
visits
France.

In the thirty-seventh year of his reign, Edward, Henry's eldest son, was sent with a splendid retinue to Alphonso, A.D. 1253.

place at Worms on the 20th of July.

¹ June 17th.

² Edmund of Abington.

³ Margaret and Beatrice were the names of the two daughters of Henry III., not (as Capgrave says) names ambiguously applied to one.

The princess Margaret was born in the year 1241, married Alexander III., King of Scotland, and died in the year 1275. Her sister Beatrice, born in the following year, married John de Dreux, son of John first Duke of Bretagne, and died in the year 1275.

A.D. 1253. king of Spain,¹ to marry Eleanor, his sister, at Burgos; and he not only obtained his desire, but was also presented with a knight's belt by the king of Spain. And Edward came with his wife to his father, bringing with him a deed of the king of Spain with a golden seal, because he quit-claimed the whole of Gascony for himself and his heirs.² Also upon him and his wife, the king of England his father, conferred Gascogne, Ireland, Wales, Bristol, Stamford, and Grantham.

About this time a new gold coin was struck by the king's command, and proclamation was made throughout the cities of England that no one should dare to refuse a gold penny in exchange for twenty pence.

A.D. 1257. At this time, also, peace was restored at Montgomery, through the instrumentality of Ottobon, the legate, between Henry, king of England, and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, on the condition, "that Llewellyn and his successors should thenceforth be styled Princes, and that the inhabitants of that land should do homage to him." But the king received from him thirty thousand marks, and thereon gave him his royal warrant, sealed by the legate, and confirmed by the authority of the Pope.³

Richard
King of the
Romans.

The nobles
conspire
against
King
Henry.

In the year of our Lord 1257, the forty-second of Henry's reign, the brother of the said king Henry whose name was Richard, earl of Cornwall, was chosen to be king of Germany. But the nobles of England, perceiving that this Richard had left the kingdom, who, as long as he remained in it, ruled the king and managed the kingdom,

¹ Alphonso IX. of Castile.

² The marriage of Prince Edward, and the attendant circumstances, are thus recorded in the English Chronicle:—

"In the XXXVIII. yere went Edward into Spayn, and browt hom Helianore his wyf. Sum sey sche was the Kyngis doughtir of Castille; summe sey sche was his sister. The

Kynge eke took Edward a chartor seled with gold, in which he releasid al the rite that he had to Gyan and Gaseon. For he schewid there that Herry the Secund had gave him the londis, and Richard and Jon had confirmed that gift, and al his rite he releasid at that marriage."

³ Alexander IV.

in the belief that he was not likely to return into England, and finding that the king of England was useless and incapable of attending to the affairs of the state, assembled together in Oxford against their lord the king, about the time of the feast of S. Barnabas.¹ And after they had opened the council, in the first place they altogether deprived him of the royal power, appointing that for the future there should be chosen twenty-four of the chief men of the realm, who should take charge of the king and the kingdom with greater advantage than before; and thus was the natural order of right changed for the worse, so that the king, whose duty it was to govern his subjects, should be governed by them instead. And in this same council they compelled the king to swear to certain conditions, and the brethren of the king on his mother's side they drove out of the kingdom as aliens.

A.D. 1257.

A.D. 1258.

And when the king of the Romans had returned into England, he publicly and solemnly ratified the oath at Canterbury even before he dined, in the presence of the king, and the nobles of the realm who had all flocked together to meet him. And the barons had acted in this way towards him because they were alarmed by the suddenness of his return, supposing that he wished to take vengeance because of the exile of the king's own brothers on the mother's side, and would put restraints on the Provisions they had made. For even in the aforesaid parliament the barons of England ruled that the brothers of the king, just as if they had been all aliens, should evacuate the land.

A.D. 1259.

Richard
King of the
Romans
returns.

In the same year the king and queen crossed the sea into France, and with him Richard de Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln, for the purpose of settling a treaty of peace between the kings of England and France in reference to the territories of Normandy, Poitou, and Anjou, which both his predecessors unjustly seized and kept possession

Henry goes
to France.

¹ June 11.

A.D. 1259. of to the préjudice of the English king. It was then agreed that the king of France should give every year to the king of England twenty-five thousand pounds in money current at Paris, provided nevertheless that the king of England should give him his charter for the quitclaim of all the lands which he had, and should also produce the charter of prince Edward, his son, of earl Richard the king of the Romans, of Simon de Montfort, and of his heirs. King Henry, therefore, by the consent of the king of Germany (or of the Romans), his brother, and by the consent of the prelates and nobles of the realm of England, quitclaimed to the king of the French in perpetuity, whatever rights he demanded in the duchy of Normandy, and in the counties of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, and in their revenues, on the condition of receiving from the said king, as we mentioned above, twenty-five thousand pounds a year in Parisian money. The king of France also quitclaimed to him whatever rights he possessed in Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Agen, in Gascony, and of the rest of the lands, whatever pertained to the dioceses of Limoges, Périgeux, Cahors, and Xantoigne, that is to say, in Gascony, and received him as a peer of France, and duke of Aquitaine, after he had done homage for the duchy of Aquitaine. And thereupon the king of England reduced the number of his titles, so that thenceforth he styled himself neither duke of Normandy, nor count of Anjou. And from that time he began to hasten the king's return.¹ And it was ascertained by unerring calculations that in Gascony itself the king of England had expended two million seven hundred thousand *librae*, exclusive of the lands and revenues which he had conferred on foreigners.

A.D. 1261.
He resists
the Pro-
visions of
Oxford.

In the year of our Lord 1261, the forty-fifth year of Henry's reign, the said king consulted with his friends how he could render void the Provisions of the barons which

¹ "Maturare redditus." It may | but Capgrave always writes "red-
mean, "to make up his accounts;" | ditus" for "reditus."

were proclaimed at Oxford. And he spoke as follows to the chief men of the realm : “ You have with one accord made certain Provisions among yourselves, and have bound me thereto by an oath, by which decree I perceive that I and my regal power are kept in check and set at nought; while you, clinging to your own rights, have made me submit to your mandates as though I were your servant. Wherefore the freedom and authority of the king, almost prostrate as it were, succumb to you, on which account you ought not to wonder if I no longer consent to your frivolous Provisions, for I will require for the future a remedy in this matter.” Then the king sent to Rome for absolution, and wrote specially to the king of France that he should provide him with subsidies. And the king of France promised him as it were countless soldiers for the space of seven years, if need should be, engaging to provide for them at his own expense. Meanwhile the king shut himself up in the Tower of London, and there he deposited his treasure, and caused all his subjects to swear fealty to him. Then he went round to all his castles, desiring to possess entire dominion over them and the whole realm, being inspirited by the fact that the king of France had recently promised to send him aid. Then he called to him the chancellor and the recently appointed justices, and commanded that his seals should be given back to him by the barons, and the rolls restored. But they answered that they could not do so on any account without the consent of the barons. The king enraged at this reply, without consulting the barons, further appointed Walter de Merton his chancellor,¹ and William Basset lord chief justice. In the same year our lord the Pope absolved the king from his oath, holding it to have been illegal, because it had been taken without the consent and will of our lord the Pope, and the cardinals of the Roman Church, of which the king was a vassal.

¹ Walter de Merton was Bishop of Rochester, and the founder of Merton College, Oxford.

A.D. 1263.
The King
and the
Barons
treat in
London.

In the following year, 'in the quinzaine of Easter,¹ the barons assembled in London to treat with the king. And, after long treating, they consented to abandon several of the articles of the Provisions of Oxford, if he would confirm certain of their number to them. And there it was provided that four knights should be elected from every county by the whole county unanimously, men who should be acquainted with the duties pertaining to the office of a sheriff, and that they should be sent to the king's brother, the king of Germany, and that he should make whomsoever of them he chose sheriff till the feast of S. Michael,² and that thenceforth the king should elect whom he chose to the office of sheriff. When therefore both parties had frequently treated together, the king and all his partizans, the earl of Leicester,³ too, and all his adherents, Richard, king of Germany, the prince Edward, the earls, barons, knights, archbishops, bishops, all the prelates of the Church, in a word, the clergy and laity generally, unanimously consented to submit this matter to the arbitration of the king of France,⁴ as to all the points of contention between the king and the barons of England, on account of the Provisions of Oxford, and they agreed that whatsoever he should ordain and appoint in respect of the said Provisions and Statutes, or of these contentions, from high to low, both sides should observe inviolably, without any exceptions whatever. And that no one should be able to escape the charge of perjury, or of wrongly interpreting the things before laid down, each and all of them affixed their seals to the above-mentioned compromise, and, moreover, swore, with their hands upon the Holy Gospels, that they would in no way whatsoever recede from the decision and arbitration of the king of France, provided

¹ The Quinzaine of Easter, i.e. the eight days before and the eight days after Easter day, which in the year 1263, fell on April 1.

² September 29.

³ Simon de Montfort.

⁴ Louis IX. the Saint.

that he should pronounce his decision on the matter before Easter.¹ A.D. 1263.

On the third day in Christmas week the king of England proceeded into France that he might be present at the arbitration. And the barons sent into France on the same business lord Adam de Newmarch, lord William le Blund, and a few others, to answer in the stead of all. The King and the Barons go to France.

Accordingly on the day after the feast of S. Vincent the Martyr,² when they had assembled at Amiens, Louis the king of France solemnly declared his decision in favour of the king of England, against the barons, and confirmed his arbitration by the authority of the Pope.³ He restored the king of England to his former power, and abrogated utterly and quashed the Provisions (or Statutes) of Oxford, deciding that the king should appoint whomsoever he should choose to the offices of lord chief justice, lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and to be sheriffs, bailiffs, counsellors, and officers. And the king returned home, rendering the barons as sorrowful and confounded, as he was himself overwhelmed with joy. A.D. 1264.
Louis decides for the King.

On many different occasions king Henry was hardly enough to enter the city of Oxford, making light of that ancient superstition according to which it was commonly reported that the blessed virgin Frideswide had by her prayers obtained from God that no king should ever be able to enter the said town without risk of bodily injury.

Now when it came to the king's ears that a great body of the barons had seized upon the town of Northampton and the adjacent castle by force, relying on the bold daring of his son, prince Edward, he attacked the town with a considerable army, and compelled it to yield to him on the fifth day of April. And there many of the barons were taken prisoners, namely Simon de Montfort the younger, the son of the earl of Leicester, Baldwin Wake, The Barons are defeated at Northampton.

¹ April 1.

² January 23.

³ Urban IV.

A.D. 1264.

De Mont-
fort attacks
Rochester.

Ralph Basset, Peter de Montfort, and other nobles who bore standards. About a hundred knights were also taken.

Hearing this, the earl of Leicester, Gilbert de Clare,¹ and many other nobles, with a number of the citizens of London, entered the city of Rochester on the vigil of the feast of S. Alphege.² And for seven days they vigorously prosecuted the siege of the castle with great loss. Its capture was, however, prevented, for as soon as the tidings of these things had reached the ears of the king, he led his army by a forced march to London. And it was told prince Edward that the city of London was altogether destitute of counsel and succours and that he would certainly take it in case he went thither. But the mayor of the city, fearing the deceit and treachery of certain persons, gave notice to the earl of Leicester of the king's approach, in consequence of which the earl raised the siege of Rochester and proceeded with all haste to London.

I say nothing in this place³ of the many hostile acts of the barons towards this king, and chiefly the battle which was fought at Lewes, for the present work prides itself on

¹ Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester.

² April 18.

³ The events which Capgrave passes over so lightly are thus recorded in the *Chronicle of England* (pp. 159, 160):—

"In the XLIX. ȝere had the Kyng, with the lordes, anothir batayle, fast be Lews. On the Kingis party was Riehard, Emperoure of Almayn, and Prince Edward. But in that bataill the Kyng was take; and Edward was plegge for his fader; and Richard Emperoure was take in a mylle, and led to the Toure of London.

"Than had thei the third bataill at Evesham. There was Simon taken, and schamfully ded; for thei smet

of first his hed; and than his armes, and than leggis: and so lay the body lich a stok.

"In the L. ȝere of this Kyng he besegid London; for thei were with the barnes ageyn the King. Ther the Kyng tok the principalis of London, and sette hem in prison at Wyndesore. So the cyte was fayn to bye here liberte of the Kyng for xxM. marc. And than was Gilbert, Erle of Glouceter, acordid to the Kyng in this maner, that the erle schuld ask the Kyng forgoevenesse of alle trespas. And so he ded ful mekly; and the Kyng took him to grace. Thanne was set a peyne, if evyr he trespassed more, he schuld pay to the Kyng xM. marc."

its brevity in its humble panegyrics on the men who bear this name. A.D. 1264.

After innumerable troubles with the barons and knights, when he had at length overcome them all, he fell asleep in the Lord, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, on the day of S. Edmund the King,¹ in the fifty-fifth year of his reign. But some say,² however, that he died on a Wednesday, on the feast of S. Edmund the Bishop³, and that on the following Sunday, namely, on the feast of S. Edmund the King, he was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, — which he had himself built from the foundation on a sumptuous scale, — the nobles of the realm affording him due obsequies, and paying him all becoming honours. And of a truth his corpse, adorned as it was with the most precious robes and the regal diadem, while it was borne to the grave on a bier by the nobles of the realm, shone forth, in the opinion of all present with greater grace and beauty when dead, than had distinguished it formerly while he yet lived. A.D. 1272.
Death of
Henry III.

¹ November 20.

² Capgrave is evidently alluding to Higden, from whose "Polychronicon" he borrows much, and who records (Bk. iii. ch. 37),—"In this

year (1272), died Henry, King of England on the day of S. Edmund of Pontigny."

³ November 16.

OF HENRY THE FOURTH,
KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1366. **BIRTH OF HENRY IV.** HENRY THE FOURTH, who was called Henry of Bolingbroke, because he was born there, succeeded Richard the Second on the throne, not so much by right of descent as by the election of the people. How glorious he was in his generation, and how kind to the church before he assumed the reins of government, the records of his deeds, scattered through the writings of not a few chroniclers, testify.

HIS PARENT-AGE. For he was the son of that most sagacious man and most noble lord, John, duke of Lancaster, who was himself the third son of the last king Edward. His sister was married to the king of Portugal, his noble and active ally during the battle which he fought in Spain in vindication of his own rights. And the lady Blanch, the mother of this king Henry, was the daughter of the king of Castile. Another sister of this man, also by the lady Blanch, was married first to the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to John de Holland, the brother of king Richard the Second.¹

¹ It will be seen at a glance that there are some mistakes in this account of the parentage of Henry IV. John of Gaunt, his father, was the *fourth*, not the *third*, son of Edward III.; Edward the Black Prince was born in 1330; William of Hatfield, in 1336; and Lionel, (Duke of Clarence,) in 1338: John of Gaunt

was born in 1340. Possibly Capgrave did not count William of Hatfield, because he died in early childhood.—Neither was the Lady Blanche (the mother of Henry IV.) the daughter of the King of Castile, but of Henry Plantagenet first Duke of Lancaster, one of whose coheirresses she was. Capgrave appears to have

Now when the troubles arose between king Richard and the five lords, who are commonly called "Domini de Campo," this illustrious man, after many injuries had been attempted against him, crossed the sea, and with devout reverence visited the Holy Places.

A D. 1388.
Henry of
Boling-
broke visits
the Holy
Land.

But the cause of this disturbance was as follows. King Richard was in the habit of promoting worthless and malicious characters, and without either regarding the advantage of the state, or attending to the advice of his lords, afforded a hearing only to those who used, as it were, to colour their faces with the pigment¹ of flattery. And many were so ill able to bear this that they resisted him to his face. But the principal of those who opposed him were Sir Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester; Sir Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby; Sir Richard, earl of Arundel;² Sir Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham.³ The said

forgotten that John of Gaunt was married three times, for he is here confusing Blanch, his first wife, with his second wife, Constance, daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile. His third wife was Katharine Swinford, by whom he was the father of the Beauforts before their marriage. Capgrave gives a correct account in his *Chronicle of England*. He there says (p. 219) :—

"In the XXXIII. yere Jon Gaunt Erl of Richemund, the son of Kyng Edward, weddid dam Blaunche, the douter of the Duk of Lancaster; be wech mariage he was after mad Duke of Lancastir."—And again, (p. 228) :—"In this yere (1372) the Duke of Lancastir and his brothir Edmund cam out of Gyan, with the two douteris of the king of Spayn. The Duke of Lancastir weddid the elder; sche lite Constauns."—And indeed he corrects his mistake in the present work. In Part the Third, Chapter VI., at the end of the life of

Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, he says :—"This man left behind him two noble daughters, one of whom William, Duke of Holland and Zealand married, and the other, John of Gaunt, who was at that time Earl of Richmond. And through this illustrious dame the said John was afterwards made Duke of Lancaster. Of this Lady Blanch and the said Duke was born the most victorious King Henry the Fourth."

John de Holland was a half-brother of King Richard II.

¹ "Stibium," a sulphuret of antimony, which, in the form of a powder, was anciently used by women to dye their eyebrows black. It was also used in medicine as an eye-salve. See Plin. 29, 6, 37; 33, 6, 33.

² Richard Fitz-Alan, K. G.

³ These were the "quinque Domini de Campo," mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

A.D. 1388. Henry therefore, seeing that he was himself threatened with danger, converted worldly strife, as far as he was concerned, into a holy pilgrimage.

A.D. 1390. Accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the month of September, Henry, duke of Lancaster, accompanied by His victories over the Infidels. a noble band of soldiers, crossed the sea into Prussia. And there, but a short time after his arrival, a conflict ensued between the christians and the infidels. In this battle the illustrious youth, Henry, fought with the enemies of the Cross of Christ, so that thenceforth he esteemed no honour greater than to avenge the insults offered to the Crucified; wherefore it was continually his lot to gain a great victory, and be famous everywhere in the mouths of all with great praise. But for certain reasons he returned to England about the feast of S. Mark the Evangelist.¹

A.D. 1392. In the year of our Lord 1392, this honourable lord again, while yet his father survived, crossed the sea, and proceeded to Prussia, accompanied, as is said, by about three hundred men. And on the feast of S. James the Apostle² he took ship at Heth, near Lynn, and, after a prosperous voyage, entered the desired land. But when he found that the reception which was given to him by the lords of the country was not as friendly as he had wished, he left them and proceeded to Venice, and from thence to Jerusalem. And there he venerated the Holy Places with the utmost devotion; the poor of Christ he relieved of his abundant pity, and some who had been taken captive he brought back with him to the land of the faithful, having paid a large sum for their ransom.

His journey described. I have, however, thought it worth while to set down in this place the names of the lands through which he passed, and the princes whom he visited on his way to the Holy Land. For he spent the whole of this year in a solemn pilgrimage; and, indeed, in this labour, so prudently did

¹ April 25.

² July 25.

he govern both himself and his companions that he was declared to be pleasing to God, an honour to this realm, and friendly to all with whom he associated. A. D. 1392.

Leaving Prussia, he passed through Poland and several other countries into Hungary, where he was honourably received by the king of the Hungarians,¹ and loaded with handsome presents. Prussia.

Next the duke of Austria² received him with kindness, both giving him a passage through his country and generously supplying him with victuals. And this was done by all the princes whom he met in his pilgrimage. Austria.

For the doge of Venice³ came over the water with galleys to meet him, and received him in his own palace, leading him to Candia, and Rhodes, and to Jerusalem, accompanying him throughout his whole pilgrimage. Venice.

And when he had visited the holy sepulchre and the rest of the holy places, he returned to Cyprus, and was there honourably received, and sent on his way by the king of that island. Cyprus.

At Pavia also and Milan he lodged with the duke,⁴ and refreshed himself after the hardships of his pilgrimage in his most pleasant society. For the "Comes Virtutum," of which title the then duke of Milan boasted, led him to the castle where the body of the blessed father Augustin rests, which our duke regarded with long contemplation. There, too, he beheld the body of that great philosopher and theologian Boëthius, and he also saw the body of Lionel, the late duke of Clarence, his uncle, who had been buried there. For this Lionel, just before his death, had given commandment to his attendants that his heart and his bones should be conveyed to the convent of the Hermit Friars of S. Augustin, at Clare, in England, but that his flesh and entrails should be solemnly interred beside the grave of that distinguished doctor. Pavia.

He visits the tomb of S. Augustin, Boëthius, and the Duke of Clarence.

¹ Sigismund, who was afterwards elected Emperor.

² Albert III.

³ Antonio Veniero.

⁴ John Galcas.

A.D. 1392. And when he found that the Lord of Virtues, to wit, the duke of Milan, had taken offence against the friars on account of some quarrel which had happened between the canons and the abbot, insomuch that the duke had it in his mind to inflict on them a fine of one thousand marks, or even banish them altogether from that place, in case an opportunity offered, the pious and venerable lord, Henry, found the means of reconciliation, softened the offence, removed the duke's indignation, and, having of his munificence given to the friars a splendid present, he took his departure.

Bohemia. He then crossed the transalpine countries, and made his
 Franec. way into France by the king of Bohemia¹ and the princes of Germany; he did not stay there long, however, but at length returned to the land of his birth.

A.D. 1399. Now it happened that at the very time when the duke,
 He lands in England. his father having died just before, landed on our shores, king Richard was tarrying in Ireland for certain reasons then well known to the world.² And when the duke landed, there met him not a few nobles, as well as a large body of the people, bewailing the life which the king was leading, and giving him an account of the evil habits of his family — all the miseries and all the injuries which they were continually inflicting on the people. The duke also, having himself had no small experience of these miseries and injuries, in that he had been branded with the name of traitor to his king and to the realm throughout all the

¹ The Emperor Wenceslas.

² King Richard visited Ireland in consequence of the troubles which had arisen after the death of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Lord Lieutenant of that country. Capgrave thus records the event in his *Chronicle of England* (pp. 268, 269) — "In that tyme [A.D. 1398] Roger Mortimere, Erl of March was deceyved be the Erishmen, and slayn. Whan the Kyng knew it, he purposed for to venge

his deth, and make a jorney into Yrland. Upon which he purveyed mech thing of his ligis, and payed rite not, so that ny alle men hated him. . . . About the fest of Pentecost, the Kyng went into Yrland, with his Chestirveris, and with the Dukes Awlmarre and Exetir, the eyeris eke of Gloucetir and Herforth, certeyn bischoppis and the Abbot of Westminster, that he myte make a Parlement whan he wold."

cities of England, committing his own cause and that of the people to God, by the advice of the lords and in accordance with the decision of the people, offered to encounter the danger in his own person as the guardian of the realm and the upholder of justice. He had moreover the advantage of the presence and support of that venerable man, Thomas Arundel, late archbishop of Canterbury, by whose counsel and foresight this matter was arranged. For these, as indeed others also, had continued up to this time in a state of exile from the kingdom.

For king Richard, led away by bad advice, in a Parliament held at Westminster, in the twenty-first year of his reign, exiled the said archbishop Thomas and Henry, earl of Derby; Richard, earl of Arundel, the brother of the archbishop, he beheaded; he caused the earl of Gloucester, his uncle, to be strangled at Calais; the earl of Warwick,¹ and the lord Cobham he committed to perpetual imprisonment. These and other deeds of this king happened to him for a snare, according to that trite proverb of the Psalmist, "He dug a pit and has fallen into it."² For, by the permission of God, those whom he had unjustly punished were greatly exalted, while himself was taken away from their midst.

Now forasmuch as different writers have given different accounts of the deposition of king Richard and the elevation of king Henry to the throne,—and no wonder, since in so great a struggle one took one side, and one the other,—I, who stand as it were in the middle between the two parties, consider that I hold a better and a safer path, since, having investigated both sides of the question, I set myself diligently to elucidate the truth alone, not, indeed, to the prejudice of any one who may write of these things after me, if he shall undertake to discuss this matter with more accuracy and clearness.

A.D. 1399.

King Richard's cruelties.

Capgrave vindicates his accuracy.

¹ The MSS., both here and in a subsequent passage (see p. 109), have "Warren" by mistake.

² Psalm vii. 15.

A.D. 1399.
The progress of the
Duke of
Lancaster.

In the twenty-third year, then, of king Richard's reign, when the said king was in Ireland, those venerable men, Thomas the archbishop, and duke Henry, landed near Bridlington, on the feast of S. Swithin.¹ And, having collected a vast army, they made their way towards Bristol, where the disturbers of the peace were beheaded, and those evil advisers of the king, William de la Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, John Bushy, and Henry Green, knights.

King Richard is taken and imprisoned.

And at the castle of Flint they took their lord the king, and conducted him with all due honour by certain strongholds and lordships, to the Tower of London, as those testify who were present on the occasion, and who are still alive. And when they had placed the king there, many infamous charges were alleged against him, concerning the destruction of the kingdom and the murder of the nobles.

The charges brought against him.

From the many articles then promulgated against the king, the few which follow have been extracted,—it was in Westminster Hall, where the throne was vacant, and the archbishop, the duke, and other nobles, as well as a large body of the people were assembled.

First, it was alleged that he had conferred the goods and the possessions which belonged to the crown on unworthy persons.

Secondly, that he had made the judges in his privy chamber to swear things which were illegal and in violation of the laws of the realm, to the destruction of his uncle² and other lords.

Thirdly, that he had caused Thomas, the lord archbishop, to be wrongfully exiled, as well as Henry, duke of Lancaster;³ and had commanded Richard, earl of Arundel, to

¹ July 15.

² Thomas of Woodstock, the sixth son of King Edward III., Earl of Buckingham and Essex. He was created Duke of Gloucester in the year 1385.

³ "In this tyme deied Jon, Duke of Lancastir, and was byried at Seyn Poules, in London. Aftir his deth, the Kyng, that had exiled Herry, his son, for X. yere, now he exiled him for evyr; forbedyng alle his re-

be beheaded,¹ and had caused the earl of Warwick² and the lord Cobham to be committed to perpetual imprisonment; moreover,—and this was the most grievous to them of all,—he had caused his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, to be strangled.³

Fourthly, that he had introduced into his closest friendship and confidence certain malefactors, who spoiled the people of the realm, and violated the wives and daughters

A.D. 1399.

ceyvouris that thei schal gader no mony to profite of here lord, notwithstanding he had graunted hem patentis befor, that thei schuld gader a certeyn summe for her lordis redempcion, that he mite with his good purchase the Kyngis grace.”—*Chronicle of England*, p. 268.

¹ The King’s remorse after the death of Arundel is thus described in the *Chronicle of England*, p. 266 :—

“After his deth the King was tormented with dredful dremes, that he myte not slepe. Eke he thoute evyr that a schadow of a man walkid before him. More ovyr this grevid him, that the comoun puple talked that he was a martir, and that his hed was growe ageyn to his bodi. For these causes, in the tent day aftir his sepulture, at the X. houre at even, the Kyng sent certeyn dukes and erles to delve up the body, and make a frere for to go betwix the hed and the body. And with this dede the Kyng was more qwiet. But for al this, he comanded the wax aboute his grave and clothis and othir aray to be take away, and to leve the grave desolate.”

² “Aftir his [the Earl of Arundel’s] deth, was the Erl of Warwik [Thomas de Beauchamp] arested. And gwanne thei inqwired of him what was his entent for to gadere so mech puple to ride with the Duke of Gloucetir, the man, seing who Arundel was ded, and he

endited of treson, was a knowe, as thei seid. For which confession the King gave him lif, and exiled him to prison in the Ylde of Man.”—*Chronicle of England*, p. 266.

³ Capgrave thus relates the King’s treatment of the Earl of Warwick and of his uncle, in his *Chronicle of England* :—

“In this same zere, whan men supposed alle pes and rest to be had, sodeynly the Kyng brak oute with privy malice, which he had long born, and ded his officeres arestin at Plasche, in Essex, his uncil the Duke of Gloucetir, and streite sent him to Caleys. The Erl of Warwik, the same day that he had dyned with the Kyng, and the Kyng had hite him his ‘good Lordchip,’ was arestid and put in prison. The Erl of Arundel was arested and sent to the Ilde of Wite. And that there schuld be no grueching in the puple for this maner doying, he ded proclame thorow the rem, that it was not for eld treson, but for newe.”—See page 264.

“Aftir this, because men thoute it was not the Kyngis worchip that his uncil schuld be slayn openly, for favoure of the puple, which loved him; for this cause the Kyng comanded the Erl Marchale that he schuld be privily slayn. So be that mannes servauntis he was slayn at Caleys, oppressed betwix to fedir bedis.”—See page 266.

A. D. 1399. of his subjects; who bought everything they could, and paid for nothing. Moreover, that he had allowed his malice to go so far that he caused it to be publicly proclaimed that no man should pray to him on behalf of Henry, duke of Lancaster, or attempt so to influence him as to cause the duke to be restored to the royal favour, or be recalled from his exile.

Fifthly, that, notwithstanding he had been himself the means of fomenting the quarrel between Henry, duke of Lancaster, and Thomas, duke of Northumberland,¹ he had banished Henry for a period of ten years.

Sixthly, that he had been guilty of perjury in many most important causes.

He abdicates the throne.

These, and many other things which were brought against the king, rendered him timid and cowardly, inso-much that publicly, in the presence of numerous witnesses, he resigned the crown and his royal authority, of his own free will, readily and peaceably

And I have thought it well to insert in this place a copy of the deed of resignation.²

The form of resignation.

"In the Name of God. Amen. — I, Richard, by the grace of God King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, do absolve from their oath of fidelity and homage, and from every bond of allegiance and royalty and dominion, with which they have been bound hitherto, or are now bound, or are otherwise in any way soever restricted, all the Archbishops and Bishops of the said Kingdoms, and other prelates of the Churches as well secular as regular, of whatsoever dignity, grade, station, or condition they may be; also all Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons, Knights, Vassals, Vavassors, and all my Liege Subjects, both of the Clergy and of the Laity, under whatsoever titles they may be reckoned. And both them, and their heirs and successors

¹ This is a mistake, — Thomas Percy was Earl of Worcester, and Uncle of the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy.

² See the Rolls of Parliament, iii. 416.

for ever, I release, liberate, and free from their obligations and oaths, and from all other whatsoever. And, as far as pertains to my own person, I release them, free, absolved, undisturbed, and exempt, in all things relating to the issues of law which might follow from the afore-mentioned circumstances or from any of them. And all my royal dignity and majesty, and the crown, the rule moreover and the authority over the said Kingdoms and Realm, as well as all my other dominions and possessions, everything pertaining to me in whatsoever way, and under whatsoever name it may be included, within the aforesaid Kingdoms and Realms, or in any other place soever; also all right and colour of right, title, possession and dominion which I have had, now have, or shall be able in any way to have in the same, or in any one of them, or pertaining to them, with all their rights, and all things appertaining to or depending, in what way soever, from them or any one of them; moreover the rule, governance, and administration of these Realms, all and of every description, the absolute and the associated sovereignty and jurisdiction in the said Realms and dominions now belonging to me, or hereafter to belong to me; the name also, and the honour, and the royalty, and the majesty of a King, I entirely of my own free will, simply, and absolutely, in the best manner, way, and form that I can use, do in this present writing renounce, and I do resign these things, entirely, and in reality as well as in word, do put them from me, and give them up and abandon all claim to them for ever. Saving the rights of my successors, the Kings of England, in these Realms and Dominions, and all other rights in them or in any one of them for ever, both those which now belong to them, or may belong hereafter. And I confess, acknowledge, consider, and in very truth judge from sure knowledge, that I both have been and am altogether incapable and useless, for the government of the said Kingdoms and their administration, in all things appertaining thereunto, and that on account of my notorious demerits I am not undeserving to be deposed.

A D. 1399.

The form
of resignation.

A.D. 1399.
The form
of resignation.

"And I swear on these Holy Gospels of God, which I now touch with my body, that I will never contravene the foregoing resignation and abdication, or impugn the same in any way, either in deed or in word, by myself or by another, or by others, or permit the same to be contravened or impugned as far as in me lies, either publicly or secretly; but these my said resignation, renunciation, discharge, and abdication, I will hold for ever to be binding upon and pleasing to myself, and will firmly keep and observe the same in all and every part of them. So help me God, and these the Holy Gospels of God.

The witnesses.

"And I, the aforesaid Richard, do subscribe my Name, in the presence of the following persons:—

"Henry, Duke of Lancaster,

"The Reverend Father, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury;¹

"Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York;

"John, Bishop of Hereford;²

"And of the following noble earls,—

"Henry, Earl of Northumberland;³

"Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland;⁴

"Thomas, Earl of Arundel.⁵

"Thomas de Berkeley,

"And William Beauchamp de Bergavenny,

"Hugh de Burnel,

"William Roos,

¹ Thomas Fitz-Alan, alias Arundel. He held the See of Canterbury from A.D. 1396 (when he was translated thither from York) till the year 1413, when he died. In the year 1398 he was charged with high treason and exiled, one Roger Walden being thrust into his See. He was restored, and the intruder was ejected, by Henry IV. on his accession in 1399.

² John Trevenant, or Trefuant. He held the See of Hereford from A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1404.

³ Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland from 1377 to 1408; Earl Marshal in 1387; Lord High Constable from 1399.

⁴ Ralph Nevill, created Earl of Westmoreland in the year 1397. He was Earl Marshal, and died in the year 1425.

⁵ Thomas Fitz-Alan, (son of Richard Fitz-Alan, who was attainted,) was restored in blood in 1399, and died in 1415.

"Henry de Beaumont,

"William de Willoughby,—Barons :

"Thomas Grey,

"Thomas Erpingham,

"Thomas Ramston,

"William Fullestan,

"Hugh Waterton,—Knights :

"William Lucas,

"John Norbury,

"Edward Beauchamp,

"Ralph Bradford,—Esquires.¹

Nevertheless the said king entered a protestation that he neither wished, nor did he intend, to renounce the "characteres" impressed on his soul.

A.D. 1399.

Richard makes certain reservations.

Also, that he reserved to himself certain revenues, lands, and tenements, which had been bought and acquired by him of the lord Richard le Scrope for his own obit and that of others, to be celebrated at Westminster, et cetera.

Also he willed to renounce, and declared that he did renounce, the rule of this realm, yet he did so on the condition, as far as in him lay, that Henry, duke of Lancaster, should be his successor in the kingdom.

These events took place on a Monday,² on the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, in the twenty-third year of his reign. For he had promised at Conway³ to fulfil all these

¹ The list given in the Rolls of Parliament is as follows:—"Richard le Scrope, Archbishop of York; John, Bishop of Hereford; Henry, Earl of Northumberland; Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland; Hugh, Lord de Burnel; Thomas, Lord de Berkeley; the Prior of Canterbury [Thomas Chilleaden]; the Abbot of Westminster [William de Colchester]; William Thirning, Knight, and John Markham, Justices; Thomas Stowe and John Barbache, Doctors of Laws; Thomas de Erping-

ham and Thomas Gray, Knights; William de Feriby and Dionysius Lopham, Notaries Public." The list given in Capgrave's *Chronicle of England* is compounded of both these lists.

² September 29.

³ "To hem [Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland,] seide he,—That he wold resigne his regaly, and alle that long thereto, save the carectis of his soul, so that his lif schuld be graunted him and suffi-

A.D. 1399. things, and as he had promised he did fulfil them in London, where he was placed in the Tower.

Is deposed. Now on the day following, which was Tuesday,¹ all these documents were read in Westminster Hall, to wit, the charges which had been brought against the king, and his deed of resignation, in the presence of the lords and all the commons. Then were sent unto the king, John, bishop of S. Asaph; John, abbot of Glastonbury; Thomas, earl of Gloucester; Thomas, lord de Berkeley; Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey, knights, and John Thirnyng, justice; and they told him that, according to the will of the people and the decree of the lords, and, indeed, his own confession, he was unworthy to rule so great a kingdom; wherefore they formally pronounced him to be deposed.

Accession
of Henry
IV.

Afterwards, on the same day, Henry, duke of Lancaster, arose and claimed the crown for himself.² First, by reason

cient lifed to him and VIII. persones." — Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, p. 271. The word *carecte* or *caracte* (as explained in the glossary, see p. 387) means

"(1.) The sign; the emblem.

"This Conrard took the *caracte* of the Cross of Seint Bernard hand," p. 136.

(2.) The character imprinted by some of the Sacraments, e.g. by baptism and confirmation. [As in the present example.] See S. Tho. Aquin. 3. qq. 62, 63.

¹ September 30.

² Capgrave gives his words as follows in his *Chronicle of England* (p. 273):—"In Dei Nomine, Amen. —I Herry Lancastir, chalenge the Crown, with al the membris that long thereto, as for descensus of the real blod of Kyng Herry, be wech rite God hath graunted me for to enter with help of my kynred."

And he adds the following curious account of the coronation:—

"Thus was he crowned on Seynt

Edward day, and anoynted with that holy oyle that was take to Seynt Thomas of Cauntirbury by oure Lady; and he left it in Frauns. This oyle was closed in a egel of gold, and that egil put in a crowet of ston; and be revelacion Herry, the first Duke of Lancastir, fond it, and brout it hom to Ynglond, and gave it to the Prince Edward, to this effect, that aftir his faderes deces, he schuld be anoynted with the same. And aftir the Prince's deth it was left in the Kyngis tresory; and nevir man tok kep thereto til, a litil before that the King exiled the bishop Thomas, this relik was found, and certeyn writing thereon, as Thomas of Cauntirbury left it. Than was Kyng Richard glad, and desired of the bischop to be anoynted new; but he wold not. But for al that the Kyng bare it with him into Yrland; and, whanne he was take in his coming ageyn, he dlyvered it to Thomas Arundel. And soo was Herry crowned with the same."

of relationship of blood, which he proved, indeed, from ancient records, the true copies of which I have not yet seen. But I have heard that it was at that time alleged on his behalf that he had descended from the more honourable and elder son, whose line was in consequence nearer to the kingdom. In the second place, he claimed the kingdom for himself by reason of the choice of the lords and the people, for at that time even all men gave him their adherence with loud acclamations. Thirdly, he claimed the kingdom by reason of its having been assigned to him by the afore-mentioned king Richard, who had awarded it to him with his own mouth; and in testimony of these things he showed to the people then and there the king's seal.

On the Monday following ¹ began a great Parliament, at which all the nobles of the realm were assembled, and there they deliberated about the coronation of the new king. And since it seemed good to the many that this coronation should be no longer delayed, it was agreed that the solemnity should take place on the feast of S. Edward the King.² And so the said Henry gained the crown, by the providence, as we believe, of God, who is mighty to put down the mighty from their seat, and to exalt the humble.³

His first
Parliament.

When, therefore, he had been raised to the throne of

His charac-
ter.

At page 276 he thus alludes to the death of Richard II. :—

“In the same tyme Ser Thomas Spencer, which was cleped erle of Gloucetir, was take and hedded at Bristow; and many othir wer so ded be the comownes.

“This cam to Kyng Richardis ere in the castel of Pounfreit, and, as sum men sey, he peyned himself, and deyed for hungir. Summe othir seide that he was kept fro mete and drink whil a knyete rode to London and cam ageyn. His body

aftr his deth was caried to London, and at Seynt Panles had his ‘Dyrige’ and his Masse, the Kyng there present. Than was the body sent fro London onto Langle, to be beried among the Frere Prechouris. At the byriyng was the bischop of Chestir, the abbot of Seynt Albones, and the abbot of Waltham, and fewe othir.”

¹ October 6.

² October 13.

³ S. Luke i. 52.

A.D. 1399. this kingdom, the said king Henry observed the ways of justice, honoured with all his power the servants of God, and, drinking from the fountains of the Scriptures, went not thirsting away. For I have known in my time that men of great literary attainments, who used to enjoy intercourse with him, have said that he was a man of very great ability, and of so tenacious a memory that he used to spend great part of the day in solving and unravelling hard questions. For he was mindful of that prayer of the most glorious Solomon, in which he asked, not for riches and honour, but for the assisting wisdom of God, and, according to the declaration of a certain versifier, who wrote on this subject,—

“When at his father’s will, he took the crown,
And God decreed to give him choice of gifts,
He chose not victory, nor length of life,
Nor riches,—but with eager mind he craved
A heart of wisdom for his country’s weal.”

Now these things, which were said concerning Solomon, have been fulfilled in this king Henry, though in a different degree. For, although he was wise, he did not attain to that height of wisdom which resided in Solomon. Let it suffice for future ages to know that this man was a studious investigator in all doubtful points of morals, and that as far as his hours of rest from the administration of his government permitted him to be free, he was always eager in the prosecution of such pursuits.

Birth of
Henry V.
[A.D.1388.]

By his first wife Mary, daughter of the earl of Hereford,¹ this king had four sons who were illustrious among the princes of the world. The eldest of these was Henry the Fifth, whose deeds are to be set forth in the following chapter.

Prince
Thomas
born.

The second was Thomas, duke of Clarence,² who was a

[A.D.1389.]

¹ Mary de Bohun, the youngest daughter and coheirress of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford.

² He was made lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1401, and Earl of Albemarle and Duke of Clarence

distinguished conqueror of all men who opposed him, and a most amiable friend of all who were connected with him, whatever might be their claim to his benevolence. A.D. 1399.

The third was John, duke of Bedford;¹ he indeed was a man of the most excellent manners, and most fortunate in treating for peace and preserving it. Prince John born. [A.D. 1390.]

His fourth son is Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who is still alive; a man who among all the princes of the world is most distinguished for a knowledge of letters; whose praises I think it best to postpone to another time, and another period of leisure, since I think it likely that I shall at some time or other write a special treatise on the subject of his praises. Besides, inasmuch as I have confined myself in the present work to the celebration only of illustrious Henries, it would be out of place to introduce therein men of another name, lest I should be burdensome to the reader; lest, moreover, I should appear to be a transgressor of my own rules laid down above. Prince Humphrey born. [A.D. 1391.]

I saw the only daughter of this most excellent king in the town of Lynn, where she went on board the ship in which she left England, and went to be married to the king of Norway. Those who know her say that she so increased in wisdom that, during the continual infirmities which oppressed the king, her husband, all the causes of the kingdom were laid before her, and that by her prudent counsel she brought everything to a prosperous issue. She indeed is the offspring of this king, and I saw her with my own eyes. Marriage of the Princess Philippa.

Now after the death of his first wife, the said king married the daughter of the king of Aragon, who was the A.D. 1405. Marriage of Henry IV. to Joan of Navarre.

in 1411. He married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and widow of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, by whom he had no issue. His illegitimate son was called Sir John de Clarence. He was killed at Beaugé, in Anjou, in 1421.

¹ He was made Constable of England in the year 1403, and earl of Kendal and Duke of Bedford in 1414. He married firstly Anne, sister of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and secondly Jaqueline of Luxembourg, who survived him. He died Regent of France in 1415.

A.D. 1405. relict of the duke of Bretagne ; but he had no offspring by her.

Rebellion
of the Earl
of North-
umberland.
[A.D.1403.]

The glorious reign of this king was decidedly peaceful, save that, in its commencement, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, with his uncle 'Thomas,'¹ and other conspirators, raised an insurrection against him ; and a serious war was stirred up against the lord king. But, as men then said, the sole cause of this strife was the said Thomas. For the king would gladly have been reconciled to the earl, and would have extended his favour to him, had he sought it. The earl also would willingly have humbled himself to receive the king's free pardon.

Treachery
of Thomas,
Earl of
Worcester.

But that Achitophel, the earl Thomas, pretending to be a mediator between them, but false to both, was, alas ! the cause of all the ruin. When he was with the king he said that his nephew was in no wise disposed to come to terms of peace. When he was with the earl he said that the king had sworn that he would see his head raised aloft that very day. And this was the end of that struggle,—many were slain on either side ; last of all the earl himself was slain, and then England lost her bravest soldier. These things took place in a plain² near Shrewsbury, in the year of our Lord 1403, that is, in the third year of the reign of king Henry the Fourth, on the twenty-second day of the month of July.³

¹ Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester.

² Hateley-field.

³ There is some little confusion in Capgrave's account of these troubles. By the "Earl of Northumberland" he appears to mean Sir Henry Percy, (Hotspur) who was slain in the lifetime of his father. The troubles began in the attempt of the Percies and Mortimers, who had joined themselves to Glyndwr, to restore Richard the Second, in case he were alive, to the throne, or if otherwise,

to give the kingdom to the Earl of March. It was Hotspur, and not the Earl of Northumberland his father, who was slain at Shrewsbury on the twenty-second of July in this year.

The Earl of Northumberland, who indeed, supported his son in his rebellion, was not killed in 1403, but on the nineteenth of February, 1408, at the battle of Bramham Moor. The following far more explicit and correct account is given by Capgrave in his *Chronicle of England* :—

"In that same tyme Ser Henry

After these things the king's mind was troubled by A.D. 1405.
reason of a certain esquire of Richard, Earl of Arundel, Glyndwr.

Percy the yonger began to rebelle ageyn the King. And to him drew Ser Thomas Percy, Erl of Wyscetir, unkyll onto the same Herry. This man had the Prince in governauns, wech sodeynly lefte the Princes hous, and drow to his neve. And, that her rebellion schuld be more excusabil, thei writyn to the cuntre aboute, that thei wold not withdrawe here legauns fro the King. But the cause whi thei strengthid hem thus, for thei wold go to the King for to enforme him that bettir governauns schuld be had in the rem; and thei durst not go withoute strong hand. For, as thei seid, the taskes that were gadered of the pupel, to here grete hurt, were spent neythir to worship of God, ne profite of the lond. Whan the Kyng had this relacion, he wrote and seide he had ful grete wondir that thei wold noyse him so; for he knew no cause why but that thei mite come to his presens as safly as evyr thei ded. Eke he wrote that mech of the good that was gadered, was sent to here handis for tucion of the Marches. But al this meved hem nowt; for with her hoost thei remeved streith onto Schreuisbury, abyding there the help of Howeyn Glendor oute of Wales.

“Whan the Kyng undirstod her malys, in al haste he thoute to mete with hem er thei wer fully gadered. For the Erl of Northumbirlond was not yet come onto hem. Thei that were with Herri Percy noysed thorw the cuntre that the Kyng Richard was yet o lyve, and amongst hem; and for his rite thei were thus gaderid. The Kyng rod to Schrouysbury, where this Herry Percy had besegid the town. But whan he sey the Kyngis standard, he left the sege,

and turned sodenly ageyn the Kyng. In the ost of Herry Percy were, as is wrytyn, XIII. thousand men. The Kyng, whan he sey the feld so disposed, seide onto his men wordis of gret cōumfort, and mad hem hardi in his quarel. Than sent the Kyng the abbot of Schrouisbury, with the privy sel, onto Herry Percy, desiring that he schuld com and ask grace, and spare that there be no blōd spilt. Herri was sumwhat meved with this message, and sent to the King his unkil, Thomas Percy. And whan the King, witȝ grete meknesse had promised the forseid Herri his good lordchip, this Thomas told his neve al the revers. Thanne the Kyng comaunded thei schuld bring him his sward, in wech he trostid mech. And thei seide it was left in a toun be side, wech thei cleped Berwik. Whan the Kyng herd ‘Berwik,’ he was gretly astoyned, and seide,—‘Forsoth it hath be oftyn told me that in Berwik I schuld be in gret perel. But fite mote we nede.’ So faute thei to grete harm of this nacion. And Herri Percy, aftir the propirte of his name, percid, or presed, in so fer that he was ded, and no man wist of whom. Thei fled that myte fle. The Erl of Duglas was take there; the Erl of Wissetir, cause of al the sorrow; Ser Richard Vernon; the Barne of Kynderton, and many othir. On that side were ded the most part of knytes and swieres of Chestirschire onto the noumbir of to hundred; and mech of the pupel of wech we have now no noumbir. This batail was on a Satirday, in the vigil of Mari Magdelen.

“The next Munday folowand were heded at Schrouisbury the Erl of

A.D. 1405. which esquire was called Glyndwr, whom the king was continually searching for, and never was able to find. For wandering among the mountains and caverns of Wales, he had never any certain dwelling-place, nor indeed could he be captured by any one.¹

Wissetir, the Barn of Kyndirton, and Ser Richard Vernon. And sone aftir the Erl of Northumbirland cam with myty hand to help Herry his son, havyng no knowyng of his deth. Ther met with him the Erl of Westmorland and Robert Watirton, and mad him turn ageyn, and took a castelle of his, and kept it."

¹ Capgrave is extremely brief in his account of this part of Henry's reign, whereas in his *Chronicle of England* he is very full. The following abstract of the events of that period (as therein recorded), occasionally illustrated by quotations, may not be without interest. This was contemporary history; the various incidents either came under Capgrave's own immediate observation, or were communicated to him by eye-witnesses. It will be found necessary for every one to read the *Chronicle of England*, who is anxious to ascertain the views of this distinguished writer on the remarkable events of his day. The present notes aspire to do nothing more than supply a connection between the *Chronicle* and the *Henries*, and to point out to the student of History in what important particulars the one illustrates and expounds the other.

A.D. 1403-4.—The Bretons burn Plymouth, which deed the English speedily avenge.

"In these dayes certeyn pilgrymes of Ynglond cam fro Jerusalem, but erred in her wcy, and lay in a forest, be nyte, above in trees, for fer of bestis. In the morow thei cam to a hermites hous, which man re-

frecchid hem, and bad hem thank God not only for thei had scaped the percl of bestis, but for thei were not at hom at the bataile of Schronisbury, which schuld falle in hast, as he saide."

A Parliament is held in London, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland is restored to his lands.—Heavy taxes are imposed on the people.

"In this same tyme the Frenschmen cam to the Ylde of Wite, askyng tribute of the dwelleres to the sustenauns of qwen Ysabelle. And thei of Wyte answered that Kyng Richard was ded, and the Qwen pesabely sent hom; wherfor thei wold non pay: if thei cam for to fite, thei schuld be welkom, and thei schuld gyve hem leve to entyr the lond, and rest hem III. dayes before the batayle. The Frenschmen herd this answey, and sayled fro that cuntre.

"In that zere, a Bryton, cleped Lord of Castel, lounded at Dortmouth with grete pride: and of hem of whom he had ful gret indignacion, that is to sey, the rural puple, was he slayn. In that jorney, which was the XV. day of April, were takyn thre lordis, XXⁱⁱ. knytes."

Translation of the body of S. John of Bridlington.

The Countess of Oxford (De Vere) spreads a report that Richard II. is alive, and draws the hearts of many after her by distributing "hearts of silver." She is imprisoned.

The Earl of Northumberland and Sir William Clifford are reconciled

Now when king Henry had reigned fourteen years he A.D. 1412.

to the King.—Trial and execution of Searl, an adherent of Richard II.

Parliament at Coventry.—Dispute between the Speaker and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The King upholds the Archbishop and prevents the confiscation of the temporalities of the church.

Many persons refuse to do reverence to the Host.

Great inundation on the coast of Kent. Death of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester.

Death of Pope Boniface IX. and election of Innocent VII.

A.D. 1404-5.—The relations of the Earl of March escape from Windsor Castle, but are shortly after captured.

"In this þere, Thomas Mounbray, erl Marchale, cam onto Maistir Richard Scrop, arbischope of York, and mad confederacion that thei schuld help to amende the insolens in the reme. Eke Thomas Lord Bardolf went onto the Erl of Northumbirlond for the same cause. Thei cleped onto hem the cite of York, and mech of the cuntre, and set up certeyn articles in chereh dores, expressing what was her entent. First, thei desired that the puple of the reme schuld have fre elleccion of knytes of the Parlement, aftir the eld forme. The secunde, that there schuld be a remedie ageyns fals suggestiones, by which many men were disherid of her londis. The thirde, that there schuld be ordeyned a remedye ageyn these grevous taskes, and ageyn the grete extorciones, and eke oppressing of marchauntis. Whanne the puple had red these articles, thei drow fast onto the bischop.

"This herd, the Erl of Westmอร์แลนด์,—that was at that tyme with Lord Jon, the Kingis third son, in

the cuntre fast by,—gadered a grete felauchip, entending for to distroye the arbischoppis powere. But whan he espied the archbischoppis party strenger than his, he sent onto him, and inqwyred why this puple was gadered. And the archbischope answered ageyn, for non othir entent, but for thei wold purpos certeyn materes to the Kyng, to whom thei durst not go withoute grete puple. Tho sent he him the articles before rehersed. And whan the Kingis son and the Erl had red hem, thai praised hem, and desired that thei schul com speke togidir with fewer folk. The archbischope cam unto hem, and there had the Erl of Westmอร์แลนด์ these wordis:—'Ser Bischope, it is best, sithe youre desire and oure is al on, that the puple undirstande it, that thei nede not thus to laboure. Wherfor we desire that sum special man schal be sent, in youre name, to comaunde evry man go hom to his laboure, save thei that schul wayte upon you.' This was do in dede; and as the bischoppis men voided, the othir party encreased. The good prest, bishop of York, undirstod nevir the deceyte onto the tyme that the seid Erle arested him. And the Erl Marchale was arested eke in the same place, and behote hem thei schuld be saved harmles: but this behest was not kept."

The King returns from Wales, where he had been in pursuit of Glyndwr. He goes to York, "and thei of the cite com oute with ropes aboute her neck, barefoot, crying 'Mercy.'" Archbishop Scrope and the Earl of Nottingham are beheaded.

"The Kyng aftir that tyme lost the beute of his face. For, as the comoune opinion went, fro that tyme onto his deth he was a lepir, and

A.D. 1412. at length made a happy end on the feast of S. Cuth-

evyr fowlere and fowlere. For in his deth, as thei recorded that sey him, he was so contracte, that his body was scarce a cubite of length."

The King pursues the Earl of Northumberland into Scotland.

He goes into Wales against Glyn-dwr, but without success,

"In this ȝere were sent embasiatouris fro the Kyng of Denmark for to have the Kyngis doutir Philip to be joyned in wedlok to her Kyng. The Kyng broute hir to Lenne, for to take schip there. And in that towne he lay nyne daies, the too Qwenes, thre sones of the Kyng, Herri, Thomas, and Umfrey; and many other Lordes and Ladies."

The French send aid to Glyndwr.

Defeat of the plot against the Abbot of Ramsay.

Marriage of the Earl of Arundel to the illegitimate daughter of the King of Portugal.

A.D. 1405-6.—Death of Roger Walden, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Pope curses those who condemned Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York.

The people are severely taxed.

James, son of the King of Scotland is captured on his way to France, whither he was being sent "to lerne that tonge, and eke curtesie."

Death of Innocent VII., and election of Gregory XII.

Death of Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich.

A.D. 1406-7.—Troubles at Rome.

Death of Sir Robert Knollys.

"In this ȝere the Prince [Henry V.] leide a sege to the castelle of Abrust within Wales, and streytid hem so that were in the castel, that thei promised him to ȝelde the castel

at a certeyn day. But it avayled not; for Glendor cam, and put new men in the castelle, and avoided al hem that consented be ony menis onto the Prince."

A.D. 1407-8.—Remarkable severity of the weather.—Defeat of the Earl of Northumberland and Thomas, Lord Bardolph, at Bramham Moor by Sir Thomas Rokeby.—The King goes to the North.

A council is held in London, in which allegiance is withdrawn from Gregory XII.—The Bishop of Salisbury and others are sent to the council of Pisa.

A.D. 1409.—Council of Pisa.—Alexander V. chosen Pope; he grants certain privileges to S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

"In this ȝere was a Parlement at London in tyme of Lenton, where a smyth was appeched for heresie. He held this conclusion, that the Sacrament of the auter is not Cristes Body, but a thing withoute soule, wers than a tode, or a creyne, which have lyf. And whan he wold not renouns his opinion, he was take to the seculere hand, for to be spered in a tunne in Smythfeld, and to be brent. The Prince Henry [Henry V.] had pite on the man, and counceiled him to forsake this false opinion; but he wold not. Wherfor he was put in the tunne; and, whan the fer brent, he cried horribly. The Prince commanded to withdrawe the fire, cam to him, and behite him grete; but it wold not be. Wherfor he suffered him to be brent into aschcs."

"In this ȝere eke was brent the town of Seynt Omeris, with the abbey. For the Duke of Burgoyne had leyed there alle his apparament, with which he thoute to besege

bert¹, bishop and confessor, in the year of our Lord A.D. 1412. 1412.

And when he was about to die, he sent for Henry, his son, who was soon to be king, and giving him a most holy exhortation, he spoke to him in brief as follows:—"Consider, my son, and behold thy father, who once was strenuous in arms, but now is adorned only with bones and nerves. His bodily strength is gone, but, by the gift of God, spiritual strength hath come to him. For even this sickness, which, as I certainly believe, is unto death, renders my soul braver and more devoted than before.

Caleys; amongis which was a horrible ordinauns,—smale barellis filt ful of serpentis and venomous bestes, wech he thoute for to throw into Caleys be engynes, that, whan the barrells broke, the corupt venym schuld infecte hem of the town. Alle this gere was brent be a zong man that bewreyid it to the soud-youres of Caleys; and thei gave him grete good to sette this town o fire."

A.D. 1410-11.—John XXIII. elected Pope.

Conversion of the King of Poland to Christianity.

John Pendergast and William Longe keep the sea successfully; incurring the envy of certain persons, the former is compelled to fly for refuge to the sanctuary at Westminster; the latter is thrown into the Tower;—"But many of the Kyngis hous had envye with him, that he was compelled to take Westminster; and there so streytid, that he dwelled in the porch of the Cherch both nyte and day. William Longe kept stille the sea, onto the Chaunceler sent for him, and hite him he schuld no harm have; but whan he had him he sent him to the Toure.

"In this zere the archbishop of

Cantirbry wold visite the Univer-site of Oxenforth; but thei wold not obey it."

Disputes arise between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans; the King sends succours to the Duke of Burgundy, who were received by him "ful worchipfully, and waged sufficiently.

"But when thei had taried longe in Parys, vitaille began to wax dere, and specialy flesch. Wherfor thei seid thei wold go gete sum vitaille among her ennies. This Duke Aurelianensis lay in a strong place fast be a town thei clepe Seynclo. This perceyved oure Englischmen, and wold ha take the town; but the brigge was broken. Ther bikird thei; and on the Frensch side, wech was with Duke Aurelianensis, many were dronchin, and killid a M.CCC. Many were taken, and broute to Paris; and there began a strif betwix hem of Paris and Englischmen; for thei of Paris wold have hem ded, as tretouris; and the othir parti had graunted hem lyf, so that thei payed raunson. Than thei of Paris payed her raunson, and than killid him."

A.D. 1411-12.—The King deserts the cause of the Duke of Burgundy, and joins the Duke of Orleans.

¹ March 20.

A.D. 1413. Think my son, in the midst of the glory and prosperity of the kingdom, whither thou shalt come. Love the Lord thy God, and above all things fear Him. Let thy confessor be a man of wisdom and prudence, who may know how to give thee wholesome warnings, and may be bold to give them; and do thou not agree unto those who sow pillows under all arm-holes.¹ Reveal all the counsel of thy heart to men distinguished for goodness, temperance, and religious character; especially to those who lead a lonely life, in study, and in prayer, and in sacred repose. Be not thyself fond of ease, but always engaged either about the things of God, or about the good of the kingdom for the sake of God, or about some of those pleasures and excellent sports, which have in them nothing of the foulness of vice. My son, pay faithfully thy father's debts, that thou mayest enjoy the blessing of the Most High; and may the God of our Fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, give thee His blessing, laden with all good things, that so thou mayest live blessed for ever and ever. Amen."

These were the last words ² of this most victorious King, Henry the Fourth.

¹ Ezekiel xiii. 18.

² In the *Chronicle of England* Capgrave omits altogether this account of Henry the Fourth's dying advice to his son, and gives instead of it the following curious anecdote:—

"In the XIII. yere, this kyng deied, the XX. day of March, whan he had regned XIII. yere and a half. At his deth, as was reported of ful sad men, certeyn lordes stered his confessoure, frere Jon Tille, Doctoure of Divinite, that he schuld induce the Kyng to repent him, and do

penauns, in special for thre thingis. On for the deth of Kyng Richard. The othir for the deth of the Archbishop Scrop. The third, for the wrong titil of the crowne. And his answeere was this:— 'For the to first poyntis, I wrote onto the Pope the veri treuth of my consciens; and he sent me a bulle, with absolucion, and penauns assigned, which I have fulfilled. And as for the third poynt, it is hard to sette remedy; for my childirn will not suffir that the regalie go oute of oure lynage.'"

OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY THE FIFTH, the most victorious king, began to reign in the year of our Lord 1412.¹

A.D. 1413.
Henry V.
King of
England.

The first whole day of his reign was the feast of S. Benedict, that we may understand him to be blessed (*benedictum*) in all his works, inasmuch as he loved God, honoured the Church, and stedfastly observed the paths of justice.

Now he was crowned at Westminster on the ninth day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1413. In the winter of the same year there were great floods of snow and rain, and in the summer several fires,² from which signs some men foretold that he would be a warlike king, and would experience many dangers in war.

He is
crowned.

In the beginning of his reign there conspired against the lord king a certain lord whose name was John Oldcastle,³

Conspiracy
of Sir John
Oldcastle.

¹ According to the usual reckoning, 1413. The following is a translation of an extract from the Red Book of the Exchequer:—"A.D. M.CCCCXIII.—Also the date of King Henry, the Fifth of that name from the Conquest, is changed year by year on the feast of S. Benedict, which happens on the twenty-first day of March."

² One of these conflagrations was

at Norwich. "In this same ȝere," Capgrave tells us in his *Chronicle of England*, "a grete part of Norwich was brent, and a fayre convent of the Prechouris ordir."

³ The story of Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), briefly recorded here, is given at length and in a very interesting manner in the *Chronicle of England*, (see page 304):—

"A strong man in bataile he was,

A.D. 1413. who was an abettor of the heretical sect which had been introduced by John Wiclif. This same Oldcastle, having

but a grette heretik, and a gret enmye to the Chereh. For his cause the archbishop gadered a Councel at London; for he sent oute prestis for to preche, which were not admitted be non Ordinarie; and he was present at her sermones; and alle thei that seide ageyn his prestis was he redy to smite with his sword.

"For these causes and many mo, because he was a knyete of the Kyngis household, the archbishop compleyned of him to the Kyng. Afir mech laboure to his amedement, the Kyng wrot to the archbishop, that he schuld somoun him to appere and answer. The knyete lay that time in his castelle, cleped Coulyng. The messenger that was sent was warned that he schuld not entir his castelle but if he had leve. Than enter onto the castelle on Jon Butlere, that was Uscher of the Kyngis Chambir; and he asked the knite whethir the somnoure schuld come to him, or he schuld sende him the lettere. The knyete refused both. Than was the somownes sent on the Monasteri dores in Rouchestir, but III. mile fro him. And at day assined the archbishop, in the castelle of Ledis, cursed him for contumacie, and grette fautoure of heretikes.

"Afir this, on a Satirday, aftr the fest of Seint Matheu, Apostil and Evangelist, the archbishop sat in Paules Chapetir Hous, and with him Herry of Wynchestir, and Richard of London, bischoppis. And Ser Robert Morle,—at comaundment of the Kyng,—than Keper of the Towre, broute this knyete Oldcastle onto the presens of these bischoppis.

"There the bischop rehersed that for contumacie he stood acursed: and if he wold mekely submitte him

to the Chereh, he wold asoile him. Oldcastel stood, and wold non aske; but took out of his bosom a bille endented; and whan he had red it, took it to the bischoppis. Than seide the archbishop,—'Lo, Ser Jon, here be many good thingis in your bille: but ye must answer to othir thingis that be put on you, touching the Sacrament of the Auter, and the powere of the Chereh, and mech othir thing.' He seide to this, that he wold gyve no othir answer than was writin in his bille. Thanne the archbishop took him certeyn Articles in a bille, to which he assigned him that he schuld answer on the Moneday folowand. And whan the day was come, the archbishop inquired of him, if he wold be assoiled afir the forme of the Chereh. He seide,—nay; he loked afir no absolution but of God. And of the Sacrament of the Auter he seide thus:—'Evene as Crist whil He went here was God and Man; the Manhod mite men see, but not the Godhed; so in this Sacrament is Cristis bodi and bred: the bred may men se, but not Cristis bodi.' He seide more,—'That the determination of the Chereh and the Doctouris, that sei the revers, ar pleynly ageyn Holy Scripture.' For the Sacrament of Penauns, he seide,—'That what man is in grevous synne, and coude not rise fro his synne, it is ful necesarie that he have a wise preest to telle him the maner of his amedement. But that a man schuld be schrive to his propir preest, or to an othir preest, it is no nede; for contricion withoute confessionne purgith al synne.' For worshipyng of the Crosse, he seide:—'That Body That hing on the Crosse schuld be wor-

been led before the king, and an accusation laid against him on account of certain erroneous bills to which he gave his support, they first attempted to soften him by kindnesses, that he should desist from the course he had taken; then he was terrified by threats, but not even thus could he be moved from his purpose. Being led before a council of bishops, when his heretical opinions and errors were recounted, Oldcastle defended them with a bold front. A.D. 1413.

He was thereupon and there publicly condemned, under the presidency of the venerable Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, for his heretical wickedness, and as the chief abettor of the heretics. Nevertheless the lord king took

chipid, and nothing but He.' And whan thei asked him, what worship he wold do to the ymage on the Crosse, he seide he wold wipe it, and kepe it clene. Than thei asked him what he seid of the Pope. He seid, 'The Pope is Antecrist; bischoppis be his membris, and freres be his tayl.'

"The archbischof sey no othir amendment in this man, condempned him for a heretik, and left him to the seculere hand. And than went he to the Kyng, and told him al the processe, praying the Kyng to graunt him lif XL. dayes, that he mite do penauns. But this indulgens turned onto gret mischef; for within thoo XL. dayes he brak oute of the Toure, and sent letteris onto his secte.

"For al that tyme fro his evasion about Myhilmesse onto the Ephi-phanie he mad him strong to distroye the Kyng and many othir. And thei that were gadered to go with him, if thei mad question to what entent thei schuld rise, this answer had thei:—'It skil you not, so ye have good wagis, and trenly payed.' The King kept Christmase at Eltham; and Cob-

ham, with his retenew, had thoute to fulfille his entent.

"The King was warned of this mater be certeyn men that hed consciens, and were of council with Cobham; and sodeynly the Kyng remeved onto Westminster. The Lolardis were warned that thei schuld gader in Seint Gilis feld; for there schuld come to hem, oute of London, L. thousand, as was behite hem. But the King was ware of al this, and comaunded London Gatis to be sperd and kept. He sent owte eke men of armes be dyvers weys, wech apposed hem that cam rennyng in hast, whedir thei schuld? And thei seide, 'To Cobham.' Thus were take and slayn thousandis. The Kyng was in the feld some aftir mydnyte. This aspied Cobham: he fled; and many with him. Many of his were take, and hang, and drawe, and brent. On was there of Dunstable, a special scolere of this secte, thei cleped him William Morle. Oldcastle had behote him that he schuld be a knyte. And in prove of that beheste thei fond with him too stedis, and gilt sporis in his bosoum."

A.D. 1413. him under the protection of his grace in the hope of gaining him; but put him in ward in the Tower. He broke loose, however, and escaped from thence, and, secretly lurking about in various parts of the kingdom, got together a great crowd of his traitorous associates, purposing to slay the king at the feast of the Epiphany,¹ under the pretence of friendship and merrymaking.²

He escapes
from the
Tower.

A.D. 1414. For after the said feast, taking some time to mature his plot, he was desirous to execute his purposes. The rebels proposed to assemble in S. Giles' fields, near London. But the king, aware of their plot, was beforehand with them, and was himself the first to enter the field with his men, catching the little heretic foxes as they crept out of their holes. The planner and contriver himself escaped at this time, but many days after was taken, brought up, and paid the worthy penalty of his crime, as will hereafter appear. After these events, the king commanded litanies to be performed and processions to be made throughout the kingdom, saying that it was well pleasing and grateful to God for thanks to be given to the Most High Sower after the destruction of so great a crop of evil, and the cutting off of the vilest tares from the good grain.

Henry
founds
three mo-
nasteries.

He then founded three monasteries near Shene³ for the spreading of the worship of the church; a work which

¹ January 6.

² In the margin opposite this passage in the autograph MS., are written the words,—“*Corrige librum quia erronee scribitur.*” The scribe who copied the MS. in the Cottonian Collection does not appear to have noticed this, at least he has paid no attention to the request. Capgrave's meaning is sufficiently clear. Old-castle was imprisoned in the Tower on the twenty-fifth of September, 1413, and made “his evasion about Myhilmesse.” From that time “onto the Ephiphanie he mad him strong to distroye the Kyng and many

othir.” On the night of the Epiphany he was taken by surprise in S. Giles' fields, some of his associates captured, and his plans frustrated. These plans therefore had been concocted before (*ante dictum festum*), and not, as Capgrave “erroneously writes” in the text, after the sixth of January (*post dictum festum*). It seems probable, therefore that he wished the scribe who made the presentation copy for his royal master to substitute “ante” for “post,” or make some other alteration to the same effect.

³ The old name of Richmond.

speaks for itself, and does not need the writer's little praise.¹ A.D. 1414.

After that, Parliament met at Leicester, and many high and difficult matters were brought to an end.² No tax was there laid either on the clergy or on the people; wherefore that Parliament had a pleasant memory.

He holds a Parliament at Leicester.

Here the subject of this most illustrious king's marriage was broached, and he gave way and consented, provided such a consort could be found for him as would conduce to the peace and harmony and quietness of the realm. He then wrote to the emperor,³ and other catholic kings and princes, to make leagues of peace and friendship, and sent special ambassadors to the king of France,⁴ touching his right in Normandy and the other territories unjustly retained by the French. But they delayed the envoys with buffoonery and mockeries; and so in the end they came home with nothing done.

Negotiations for his marriage.

It is said, moreover, that at that time the dauphin sent some common tennis balls to our king, and bade him exercise his young men with them; and not presume to

The insulting conduct of the Dauphin.

¹ Capgrave is more explicit in his *Chronicle of England*:—

"In this ȝere the Kyng foundid thre houses of religion, fast be his place wech thei clepe Schene,—on of the monkis of Chartir-hous; anothir cleped Celestines. Thei kepe Seint Benet reule *ad literam*, as thei sey: thei are constreyned for to be recluses for evyr. The thirde is of Seynt Bride Ordre."

² This was in the end of the year 1413. The *Chronicle of England* supplies but little under this year beyond the narrative in the text. It mentions the Parliament which was convened at Westminster in the month following that of the King's coronation (confounding it in some particulars with that held at Leicester in the following year), recording that it gave great pleasure

to all men because no subsidy was asked. It mentions also, as we have already said, the great fire of Norwich, which is barely alluded to in the present work under the comprehensive expression,—"*plura incendia*." It records also the return of the Duke of Clarence from Aquitaine; the "*solempne terement*" held by the King for his father, at Canterbury; the change of the feasts of S. George and S. Dunstan into "*dobbil festes*;" the death of Alexander Totington, Bishop of Norwich, and the collation of Richard Courtenay to the See; concluding with the account of the examination and execution of Oldecastle, which we have already quoted at length.

³ Sigismund.

⁴ Charles VI. the Beloved.

A.D. 1414. contend with so noble a kingdom. Our king answered shortly by letter that he would send them balls which should make their cities and strong towers tremble.¹

A.D. 1415. Then the king, seeing their pride and scorn, got ready
The King prepares for war. everything necessary for the conflict, intending to do battle for his right, and commit his cause to God and All Saints. Meanwhile a fleet was made ready, arms were stored, and men assembled, and new soldiers flocked in from all sides.

Execution of certain traitors. But while this was doing, some of his own subjects in whom he placed great confidence, and who were bribed by the French, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, or, as was said, simply to murder him. Nor did the king discover their treason till he was on the very point of crossing the sea. Those who were found guilty in this matter and put to death for their open treason were Richard, earl of Cambridge,² Henry Scrope,³ and Thomas Grey. Upon this disturbance breaking out, the other lords advised the king not to cross the sea. But he entrusted his cause to God, and put to sea on the feast of S. Tiburtius the Martyr;⁴ and on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,⁵ he made shore prosperously at the Pays du Caux. He then had it publicly proclaimed through the whole army that no man of his should rob a church, harm a priest, or wrong a woman; and that under pain of death.

Taking of Harfleur.

And he came to Harfleur,⁶ and took it with all its forti-

¹ In the English Chronicle Capgrave has made a confusion in his chronology and has thrown together the events of the two years 1413, 1414. The earlier events in the account of Oldecastle's rebellion, and the events preceding them, belong of course to the former years.

² Richard Plantagenet, son of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, who had been created Earl of Cambridge in the previous year.

³ Henry, Lord Scrope, of Masham,

"on whom," Capgrave tells us in his other Chronicle, "the Kyng trosted moost, and be whos counnelle al thing was doo. Sobir was the man in word and chere; and undir that ypoerisie had he a ful venemous hert."

⁴ August 11.

⁵ August 14.

⁶ The whole story of the taking of Harfleur is more fully told in the *Chronicle of England*.

"The Kyng, with his nave, took

fications, works and defences. For the lord de Gaucourt, A.D. 1415. after a manly resistance of many days, was forced to give up the keys of the town to the king, and submit himself to his pleasure. The king freely allowed him and the rest of the prisoners to go to the king of France, and tell him how the matter came about, conditionally on their oath that they would return to his presence at Calais.

Meanwhile he sent a herald to the dauphin of France to apprise him that he would wait for him at the town of Harfleur eight days; and bid him surrender to him the land which of right belonged to him, without shedding of blood; or, if that did not please him, to let them decide the right and sovereignty of the realm by the law of the sword in single combat. No one however gave him answer in these matters. But in the midst of this his glory a very

The King vainly attempts to treat with the French.

the se, and londid at Kidkaus, with a thousand schippis and five hundred. He entered the lond on a Wednesday, which was the vigil of Assumpcioun of oure Lady; and on the Satirday aftir he leyde sege to the town of Hareflw, he be lond, the schippis be the watir. And this sege lested til the Sundy befor Myhilmesse. In the Tewisday befor that Sunday, the lordes that were keperes of the town, sent onto a man onto the Duke of Clarence, praying him enterly that thei myte trete with the Kyng, and that he schuld make his gunneres to sese, for it was to hem intollerabil. The names of hem were these: the Lord Gauncourt, the Lord Stutevyle, the Lord Botevyle, and the Lord Clare. The Duke of Clarens spak for hem to the Kyng; and the Kyng sent to hem the Erle of Dorset and Ser Thomas Erpingham, to knowe her desire. Thei prayed the Kyng mekely that he schuld ses of his schot onto Sunday; and if the Kyng of Frauns cam not be that tyme, thei schuld delyver him the town. Thei profered him

eke that if he wold gyve hem leve and save conduct to ride to the Kyng of Franns, thei schuld ley pleggis XXII knytes with the best of the town. So the Lord Hakevile and XII. personnes had leve to ride thorw the host. And on the Wednesday, erly, cam oute of the town the lordes, XXII. knytes, and swires, burgeys of the town. And ageyn hem the Kyng sent a solempne procession of prelatys and prestis, and the Sacrament; and aftir folowand lordis, knytes, and the puple. Whan thei had mad a solempne oth, thei went to mete into the Kyngis tent, but thei sey not the Kyng. Aftir mete thei were comaunded for to go with certeyn lordes that schuld kepe hem. On the Sunday com the messageres ageyn withoute ony help of Kyng or of Daufyn. Therefor thei that were in the town submitted hem onto the Kyng; and thei that were with the Kyng, sent be the Frensch Kyng to keeping of the town, remayned as prisoneres." See page 310.

A.D. 1415. great calamity befel him. For many of his soldiers fell sick of the bloody flux, and the earl of Suffolk¹ and the bishop of Norwich, Courtenay by name, died of the sickness; and many returned to England, so that scarce five thousand men were left with the king.²

His advance,—
Arques. But the king, undismayed at this, passed on his way near the town of Arques, which lay on the road which he ought to take, and had been strengthened sufficiently with bridges and towers on the rumour that war was at hand.

Eu. Then he moved his host onwards to Eu, where he learnt that all the bridges of the country had been destroyed, and all the causeways broken down to prevent his passage, and that all provisions had been carried off, or were to be looked on with suspicion.

Bowes. Thence at last he removed to the town of Bowes, and
Corbie. thence to the plain call Corbie; where a sudden attack of the French was repelled by the exertions of the archers.

He crosses
the Somme. He also passed a marsh, and the river called the Somme by a single causeway, narrow enough, where he again repelled an attack of the French.

An em-
bassage is
sent. And then the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Bourbon sent to him to prepare for battle shortly. No place or day was named; but the bearers of the message returned in great state. It is said that of the messengers in this business the one was the lord of Hayle, who had broken prison at Wisbeach, and had fled; the other one John Gravelle, knight.

Henry pre-
pares for
the battle. Then the king, undismayed, entrusted his cause to God and crossed the river Ternois. And, raising his eyes, he beheld afar off the army of the French, and a valley between the two hosts. Then he commanded all faithfully

¹ Michael de la Pole.

² He tells us further in the *Chronicle of England* that the Duke of Clarence, (Thomas Plantagenet, second son of Henry IV.,) the Earl

of March (Edmund Mortimer), the Earl of Arundel (Thomas Fitz-Alan), and the Earl Marshal, "took gret seknes there."

to confess their sins to God, and receive wholesome penance ; A.D. 1415.
for he thought he could conquer men if he first conquered
sin. There were few priests there, so that his will took
long to execute. Therefore they remained there the whole
day, and the others came not down. Night fell, and the
king went down to a village near. It was a very rainy
night, and the people rested in the rain, and without
bread.¹ The French thought in the morning that the king
had fled, and in vain security played at dice for the prisoners,
which each should have. Most marvellous event ! Though
we are told there were but seven thousand on the part of
the English, and sixty thousand ² on that of the French, the
victory was, for all that, given to the English.

I say nothing of the archers, and the placing of the
stakes, and many other things of the same kind ; for they
demand a long description. Be it enough for the present
to know that this victory was gained, by the permission of
God, on the feast of SS. Crispin and Crispinian.³

There fell in it on our side, the duke of York,⁴ the earl The slain.
of Suffolk, and, as they say, of the common folk not more
than thirty.⁵ On the French side were slain the archbishop
of Sens, three dukes, seven counts, the lord de Bret, the
constable of France, one hundred barons, fifteen hundred
knights and seven thousand gentlemen.⁶ Two dukes,
three counts, and many others of gentle birth were taken
prisoners.⁷

¹ "Thei had walnotes for bred ;
and flech had thei sum ; but her
drynk was water,"—*Chronicle of
England*, p. 312.

² In his other *Chronicle* Capgrave
states the numbers of the French
host as one hundred and forty thou-
sand. See p. 311.

³ October 25.

⁴ Edward Plantagenet, son of Ed-
mund of Langley : he was created
Duke of York in the year 1406.

⁵ "On oure side were ded Edward,

Duke of York, the Erle of Suffolk,
IIII. knytes, a swiere, Davy Gamme ;
of the comones XXVIII."—*Chro-
nicle of England*, p. 312.

⁶ "Ther were ded the Duke of
Lauson, the Duke of Braban, the
Duke of Bayer, V. erles, the Con-
stable eke of Frauns, and a hundred
lordes ; knytes and swiris IIII. thou-
sand sexti and IX. : the comon
puple was not noumbered."—*Ibid.*

⁷ "These were take,—the Duke
Aurelianensis, the Duke of Burbon,

A.D. 1415.

Legend.

Henry proceeds to Calais,

and to London.

There were some who asserted that they saw S. George fighting for the king.

The king remained there that night; and in three days returned to Calais, where he rested from his labours for the space of twenty days. Thus the war turned to the joy and pride of the one nation, but to the sorrow and disgrace of the other. To Calais, as he had promised, came Gaucourt, bringing with him the other captives.

The king came from Calais to Canterbury, and thence to London, where he was nobly received, as was meet, and many very beautiful images and pictures were set up in his honour, both on the bridge, and in other parts of the city. And the great concourse of people was marvellous to tell. Thus was the king received, and the whole land made merry with jubilee and exultation.¹

the Erles of Eu and Vendome, Arthure the Duke's brothir of Bre-tayn, which cleymeth to be Erl of Richemund, and a knyte thei cleped Brucegald, Marchale of Frauns, and other were take there of cote armoure, into a VII. hundred.—*Ibid.*

¹ The particulars of King Henry's march from Harfleur towards Calais are given much more fully in the present work than in the *Chronicle of England*. The latter, however, records many events in the year 1415 which the former passes over:—The Seventeenth General Council, held at Constance, (which commenced its sittings in the preceding year, and ended in the year 1418,) is mentioned, and there were present, we are told, the Bishops of Salisbury (Robert Hallum), Hereford (Robert Mascall), and Bath (Nicholas Bûbewith), the Abbot of Westminster (William de Colchester), and other clerks. The deposition of Pope John XXII. is recorded, and the abdication of Gregory XII. Of the former it is said that as soon as his

fall "was noysed in Ynglond, a gret summe of money which was gadered for him in a hucch at Poules was take oute, and spent in bettir use." (P. 309.)

Mention is also made of the insurrection of some followers of Sir John Oldecastle. Their leader, says Capgrave, "wech had hid him long tyme fast by Malverne, res fro his den, and sent letteris to the Lord Bergeveni that he wold be wrechid first upon him. And he, as a wise man, sent aftir his frendis and his tenauntis, and mad a host of a sex thousand men. That aspied Oldecastle and fled; no man coude cacch him. Ther took he a preest of the secte, and othir servauntis of his whom the Lord Bergeveni streyted so that thei told wher Oldecastle was hid. There found thei his armoure and his mony. Thei fond there a banere costfully depeynted with a Host and a chalis. Thei fond eke baneris depeynted with Crist ful of woundis, the spere, and the nayles. Al these thingis wer mad for to

On the first day of March following the Parliament met A.D. 1416.
at Westminster; and in it the people were reminded by the mouth of the bishop of Winchester, who was at that time chancellor of the realm, and now cardinal, how king Edward the Third had challenged the kingdom of France as his right; and so too prince Edward, and now again Henry the Fifth. And in the conclusion of his speech the same chancellor desired the people to give great thanks to God, that our kings had gained such strong harbours, to wit, Edward the harbour of Calais, and Henry the harbour of Harfleur: and that our king had stricken terror and dismay into the hearts of the French in this last war, to the great glory of our realm.

Meanwhile a messenger came to the king with tidings of fresh joy, to wit, that the count d'Armagnac, and his thousands, had been beaten, and that by a few English. For the earl of Dorset, who was afterwards created duke of Exeter, had gained this victory over fifteen thousand French, though he had with him scarcely nine hundred men.¹ Defeat of the French.

make simplil folk to suppose that he was a trew zelator of the feith." (Pp. 309, 310.)

After the capture of Harfleur, Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, is made Governour of the town.

The account of the battle of Agincourt concludes with the following anecdote:—

"In the tyme of the bataile the brigantis of the Frensch side took the Kyngis cariage, and led it away, in which thei fonde the Kyngis crowne. Thei mad the bellis to ryng and men for to sing,—'Te Deum laudamus,' telling verily that the Kyng was ded. But within a fewe houres aftir her joye was chaunged. The Kyng rood to Caleis and ovir the se to Dover, and in the XXIII. day of Novembir cam

to London, and there was receyved in the best maner."

¹ The number of the English forces is given differently in the *Chronicle of England*, and the account of the battle is fuller:

"In his IIIL þere was a gret batail betwix the Erl of Dorcet and the Erl of Armenak, in which batayle there perchid many on both sides; for this Armenak felle upon hem soydenly, and thei were not avised. In the tyme of the batail al her cariage was stole be the Frenschmen. So mote thei nedis go hom on fote. Thei laboured al the Thursday; and on Friday in the morownyng thei sey the Frenschmen on the hillis comyng downward. Than sent to the Erl of Dorcet this message the Erl Armenak.—'Now art thou so

A.D. 1416.
The emperor Sigismund visits England.

After these events, Sigismund, emperor of the Romans, came to England;¹ but before the dissolution of Parliament, as they looked for the emperor's arrival. He came to Calais shortly after Easter² with a retinue of one thousand men, and was there received with due reverence by the earl of Warwick.³ At Dover he was met by the duke of Gloucester.⁴ At Canterbury by the lord archbishop.⁵ At Rochester by the duke of Bedford.⁶ And at Dartford by the duke of Clarence.⁷ The king accompanied by five thousand gentry went to meet him near London with state enough, not reckoning the citizens of London, and led him through the midst of the city to Westminster; and on the fifteenth day after Easter the brotherhood between the emperor and the king, which had been before secretly entered into, was publicly renewed in Parliament. And this solemn act was confirmed by written deeds, for the lasting food of love and peace.

Is made
Knight of
the Garter.

The feast of S. George the Martyr⁸ being now at hand, the emperor took part in it, and was thereat elected into the brotherhood of the knights of the Order, and installed with the due insignia. At this feast was present the duke of Holland⁹ with one hundred knights to treat, it is said, for a perpetual peace between England and France.

Troubles in
France.

And during this treaty for peace, the French, with their treacherous contrivance and wonted double dealing, pre-

streytid, that the se is on thin o side, and we on the othir. Therfor, be my councele, ȝeld the; for ellis schalt thou deye.' The Erl of Dorset sent this answeere ageyn,—'It was nevyr the maner of Englischnen to ȝelde hem, whan thei myte fite. And thonȝ the Englisch host had no mo men but XV. hundred, ȝet had thei bettir of XV. thousand, God and good prayeris hem helpyng.'

¹ "In the sevene day of May."—*Chronicle of England*, p. 313.

² Easter Day fell on the 19th of April in the year 1416.

³ Richard de Beauchamp. He was created Earl of Albemarle for life in the year 1417.

⁴ Humphrey Plantagenet, youngest son of Henry IV.

⁵ Henry Chicheley.

⁶ John Plantagenet, third son of Henry IV.

⁷ Thomas Plantagenet, second son of Henry IV.

⁸ April 23.

⁹ William VI.

pared to besiege Harfleur with certain Genoese carracks, and thence hastened to burn the king's vessels at Southampton. When the king learnt this he dissolved Parliament; the duke of Holland returned to his own parts, the emperor was escorted in state to Leeds¹ Castle in Kent, and the king himself hastened to Southampton. Again letters were sent to the emperor under the name and seal of the king of France,² to the effect that the Council of France had consented to all the articles agreed upon by the Council of the king of England for the restoration of peace: for which letters both emperor and king joyfully gave thanks to God. But their acts agreed not with their writing; yea, in the first place, they treated our ambassadors ill, not letting them leave their lodgings, and putting other affronts upon them not in keeping with law or treatings for peace.

And, moreover, they so encompassed the city of Harfleur that none could come out of it, or enter in to the besieged. But, more, they blockaded Portsmouth harbour with their fleet, so that the king's fleet might not come out. These, and many other things which they did, showed clearly that all their treating was fraudulent and deceitful, that with these buffooneries they might put us off our guard the sooner, and destroy us.

But the Lord God, Who regards truth, and frees the just from misfortune, comforted us through the lord duke of Bedford, who with his daring fleet first fought a battle by sea with the Genoese carracks and other terrible vessels, in which one thousand five hundred of our adversaries were slain, and four hundred taken prisoners. Then secondly the same duke came to Harfleur with his fleet, and filled it with food, and rejoiced the besieged with the best kind of comfort.

When our lord the king heard of this, he diverted his journey to Canterbury; payed his thanks to God, and told

A.D. 1416.

Siege of Harfleur.

It is relieved by the Duke of Bedford.

Henry proceeds to Canterbury.

¹ See the *Chronicle of England*, pp. 188, 304.

² Charles VI.

A.D. 1416. all to the emperor, who was then present. They praised God together, for that treachery had treacherously fallen and truth had been set free by justice. After this the king established fresh observances in his chapel, without taking away the old, and glorified God with devout service. For by devoutly increasing the service of his chapel with certain responsories, versicles, and prayers, both to the Trinity, and to the Blessed Virgin, and other Saints, whom he revered with special devotion, and by a thoughtful attendance at it himself, he roused a very great spirit of devotion in the people.¹

A.D. 1417. Afterwards the emperor, accompanied by the king, returned to Dover and to Calais, on his way to his own country. The servants of the emperor, on their return, gave the greatest praise to England both in word and in writing, and scattered papers in the ways and streets, with sentences like this inscribed upon them:—

“Farewel, with glorious victory,
 Blessid Ingland, ful of melody!
 Thou may be cleped of Angel nature;
 Thou servist God so with bysy cure.
 We leve with the this praising,
 Which we schul evir sey and sing.”²

¹ The English Chronicle adds little to the account given in the present text of the events of the year 1416.—“The Emperoure offered a ymage of Seint George at Wyndesore, mad of pure gold. Ther, on Seynt George's day, was he mad brothir of knites of the gartere; and there receyved the Kyngis lyveri, wech he wered on solempne daies al his lyve.”—See p. 313. On the fourteenth of June there was a terrible storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning such has had never been known by any living man. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, assisted the Duke of Bedford in the

relief of Harfleur.—“Galley-half-pennies” were forbidden to be used.

² Capgrave's own translation probably (see his *Chronicle of England*, p. 314) of the original verses as given in the Latin text, and which are as follows:—

“Vale et gaude, gloriosa cum triumpho!
 O tu felix Anglia et benedicta!
 Quia quasi angelica natura gloriosa,
 Laude Jhesum adorans, es jure dicta.
 Hanc tibi do laudem quam recte jure mereris!”

On the fourth, therefore, of September the king arrived A.D. 1417. at Calais, and there received the ambassadors of France, who were allowed to live at their own expense as they were said to have made our ambassadors do. Then the duke of Burgundy¹ sent a message to the king that he purposed to come and confer with him, on condition that the duke of Gloucester should be sent as an hostage to the city of S. Omer to remain there, so long as the said duke remained at Calais; which the king readily assented to.

And after the duke had treated of peace with the king for some days, he went back to his own home, and the king returned to London again. And on the tenth of October he held his Parliament there: in which it was decided by common consent that, inasmuch as peace could not be had by treatings and meetings, it seemed good to seek it by war.

In that Parliament Thomas, earl of Dorset, was created duke of Exeter; also heavy taxes were levied on the people for the maintenance of the king's right.²

¹ John Sans Peur.

² The departure of the Emperor, and its attendant circumstances, are thus detailed in the *Chronicle of England*:—

“The Kyng, that men schuld knowe wel that he was redy to have pes with the Kyng of Frauns, saylid ovyr the se with the Emperoure to Caleys. There aspiied the Emperoure that the proferes on the French side were but fraude and sotilte; therfor he left hem as thei were.

Than mad the Kyng a unyte betwix the Duke of Burgayn and the Emperoure. The cause of her debate was this. The Duke of Burgayne long before, the same tyme his fadir Philip lyvand, was take prisoner be the Turkes, and the Emperoure boutte him ageyn for a grete summe; whch summe he swore treuly to pay to the

Emperoure, whch was than but Kyng of Hungari. In this mater, the Kyng made the Duke to take dayes, and be bound; and forthwith the Duke ded homage to the Emperoure. The Emperoure fro Caleys went to Dordraute, and with him went the Duke of Gloucetir and othir, where thei took leve of the Emperoure, and cam hom ageyn.” See page 315.

The English Chronicle extends only to the year 1417. The only events recorded under that year are the conspiracy laid against King Henry the Fifth at Kenilworth “be a swiere of that Oldeastelle;” the discovery of seditious bills in the towns of Northampton, Reading, and S. Albans; and the assembling of the Council at Basle.

A.D. 1417.

Treach-
erous con-
duct of
Oldcastle.

But John Oldcastle caused his emissaries to scatter many writings in the ways and places of public resort, hypocritically setting forth the glory and increase of the realm as their object, but really intended to stir up the hearts of the people: and when the spirit of discontent was roused, he intended himself to rise in rash attempt against the king. One billet was found among the rest, in which the king was begged to take all the temporalities of the church into his own hands; and this billet was even presented to the king by a certain Henry Greyndore. To whom the king made answer that he would rather be cut into pieces by the sword than do such a thing. Moreover he put the said Henry into prison as an abettor of the heretics.

Henry
collects a
fleet.

When Parliament was over the king ordered all the ships to meet at Southampton, as he hastened to go again to Normandy.

The vic-
tory at
La Hogue.

And while this was being done, the earl of Huntingdon,¹ the admiral of the sea, took many vessels at La Hogue, in which many prisoners were made, and among others the bastard brother of the duke of Bourbon.

Henry
enters Nor-
mandy.

The king made for Normandy² about the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula,³ and took there many towns and castles,⁴ which of right belonged to him. And on the feast of the translation of S. Cuthbert,⁵ he took the town of Caen, where the most victorious king William the Conqueror lies buried.

The duke
of Bedford
checks the
Lollards.

And while the king stopped in Normandy, the duke of Bedford, who was acting as viceroy, held a Parliament in

¹ John Holland (the second son of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, who died, attainted, on the scaffold, in the year 1399) was restored in blood and honours in the year 1417. He was Lord High Admiral. In the year 1442 he was created Duke of Exeter, and died four years afterwards.

² He embarked on the 23rd of July.

³ August 1. He landed at Tonques, near Harfleur.

⁴ He took the castle at Tonques on the 9th of August. In the following year he took Rouen, Cherbourg, Domfront, and other towns.

⁵ September 4.

England in which provision was made against the Scots¹ A.D. 1417. and the Lollards, who had risen in the king's absence.

And at the same time arrived the good news of the election of our lord the Pope, Martin the Fifth.

It was in this fifth year of the glorious king Henry that Oldcastle, that satellite of the devil, was taken by the servants of lord Powis,² and adjudged to death. Oldcastle is taken.

For their sakes into whose hands these writings may come I will declare some of his errors to posterity, that they may not think he was put to so shameful a death except for a just cause. His tenets.

First, he declared that none ought to worship the Mother of Christ; or the other Saints.

Also, that confession ought to be made to God alone, and not to man.

Also, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after consecration, the bread remains unchanged.

He condemned civil property; and hated priests and churches as abominations.

He also was for destroying marriage, as far as in him lay.

He is said to have inflicted severe injuries on his captors when they took him, for he was very strong. But a certain woman struck him on the shin with a footstool, and he presently fell to the ground. He was brought to London, hung, and burnt. He had pretended that he was His execution.

¹ The Scots availed themselves of the absence of King Henry from England to attack Roxburgh and Berwick, but they were unsuccessful.

² He was taken in Wales.—Capgrave was rather fond of adopting the outrageous language of some of the historians of the day, in making mention of the heretics of the time. Oldcastle appears to have been a very doubtful character, and, perhaps, if the writers of the period are

to be believed, he was a traitor, and very unscrupulous in many of his proceedings: at all events Capgrave was rather justified in calling him "ille satelles infernalis," than in stigmatising John Wiclif as "the organ of the devel, the enemy of the cherch, the confusion of men, the ydol of heresie, the meroure of ypocrisie, the norischer of seisme." See the *Chronicle of England*, page 240.

A.D. 1417. Elias, sent for the conversion of the whole world ; and his prophecy was fulfilled, as some say, while he was being taken to the fire sitting in the cart, since the one was borne off in a chariot to Heaven, the other to hell. The duke of Bedford and those who were present at his death, urged him to make faithful and lowly confession of his sins, offering him time, and his choice from among many priests. But he said that though Peter and Paul were present he would not confess to them ; and so as a blasphemer, and abandoned abetter of heretics, he suffered the disgrace of death as he deserved. He was first dragged to the place of execution and hung ; then he was dismembered and disembowelled, and lastly his body was burned to ashes in the flames.

These are the acts of this illustrious, noble, and most Christian king, Henry the Fifth, in the first lustrum of his reign.

I say nothing here of the numberless cities, boroughs, towns, and castles which he took in Normandy,¹ for to do so would make the work prolix, and cause a long digression from my purpose ; for at the beginning of my undertaking I promised that I would pass over the deeds of these men with only a short mention.

A.D. 1420.
Marriage
of Henry V.

I make mention of the magnificent espousals of this king and the illustrious lady Katharine,² daughter of the king of the French, for this reason, that posterity may know thus much of them, the year and day on which they were celebrated. For, as I have learnt, they took place on the feast of Holy Trinity,³ in the eighth year of his reign, and at Troyes in Champagne, as many declare.

¹ See page 140, note (4).

² Katharine, daughter of Charles the Sixth, King of France. She survived her husband, and in the year 1423 married Owen Tudor, a gentleman of her household: their son Edmund, who became afterwards Earl of Richmond, was the

father of Henry the Seventh. Shortly before her death, Katharine was separated from her husband. She died at Bermondsey in the year 1437.

³ Trinity Sunday occurred on the 2nd of June in the year 1420.

After many glorious and miraculous victories, our king of pleasant memory died at Rouen¹ in the ninth year of his reign, on the feast of SS. Felix and Audactus,² in the year of our Lord 1422.

A.D. 1422.

His death.

His end fell well on the feast of Felix, for he was felicitous in all things; felicitous in endowing the church, felicitous in ordering more clearly the divine offices, felicitous in the administration of justice, and, in fine, felicitous in all his life. And as the Blessed Felix laid low the statues by the breath of his most strong faith, so did this king shatter the statues of the heretics with the hammer of his justice, and burn them to ashes, lest the crop of the church should be spotted with their doctrines and the company of the faithful be destroyed by the false-hearted.

May the Lord grant unto him for the unbroken faith he kept with Him a ring of everlasting blessedness: for his defence of the church militant the glory of the church triumphant, and in exchange for his earthly kingdom, whose laws he kept inviolate, an eternal kingdom with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ This is a mistake. It occurs in both MSS., but in the MS. C.C.C. the words "Boys Vincen" have been written in the margin opposite by a later hand. Shortly after the siege of Meaux, he was taken ill at Corbeuil, from whence he was carried to Bois de Vincennes, near Paris, where he died.

² The feast of SS. Felix and Audactus occurs on the 30th of August. Henry the Fifth died on the day following, as is proved by the statement in the Red Book of the Exchequer, to the effect that "he died on the last day of August, in the tenth year of his reign."

OF HENRY THE SIXTH,
KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1421.
Birth of
Henry VI.

HENRY THE SIXTH, king of England and of France—who yet lives, and to whose service I have wholly devoted myself—was born in the year of our Lord 1422¹ on the feast of the blessed Pope Nicholas.²

He, the son of the most victorious king Henry the Fifth, by Katharine, daughter of the most illustrious Charles, king of the French, had the title of both kingdoms, not indeed of old, but lately, won.

It is pleasant now to consider the day of his birth with smiling eye, that my lord may have some pleasant reasons, and happy guesses of his birth. For it is not without a reason, that certain great men have herded together on certain days of greater desert than others. Wherefore, though on Wednesday his persecutors inflicted torment and suffering on the Blessed Thomas, yet in the event that day became happy.

My desirable lord, the king, therefore, was born in the month of December, and on the sixth day thereof, on the feast of S. Nicholas, in the month in which the Blessed Virgin was conceived, and the Virgin's Son, the Saviour of the world, was born. I do not put a mortal man in com-

¹ Henry the Sixth succeeded his father in the year 1422, on the 1st of September, but he was born at

Windsor on the 6th of December in the previous year.

² December 6.

parison with his Maker and His Blessed Mother, but I A.D. 1421.
 write this, that he who is born at a holy season may imitate His holy life. It is, therefore, worth while to bear in mind that, although that month is the twelfth with us, it is the tenth month among the Jews, since they begin the year in March, which we do not. Of old custom, therefore, that month keeps its name December, that is "*decimus imber*," having its virtue from the decad; and thus it suggests to us that our most religious king was for this reason born in this month, that it might impress the ten commandments on his mind—that he should love God and his neighbour; that he should not take His Name in vain; that he should keep holy the Sabbath day; honour his parents; do no murder; never commit adultery; nor steal; that he should bear no false witness; and that he should covet not the house or wife of his neighbour, and the like.

He was born on the sixth day of the month that we may understand that this is the Sixth Henry: through whom, as many think, God will work some great thing in accordance with His more secret prophecies. Or else because it is a toilsome journey to keep the commandments, and this journey is contained in the number six, because in six days all things were made.

Furthermore it is to our purpose that he came to us on the feast of S. Nicholas the Confessor.¹ The one was remarkable from his infancy in the number of those who devoutly fast; the other neither indulges his appetite nor is overcome by surfeiting and drunkenness. The first was raised against his will to the dignity of the popedom; the other, though placed in the position of king, is as one of the people.

For it is good for our lord the king that his beginnings should follow the example of the Saints; and it is meet and proper that his life should be ordered by such exemplars;

¹ December 6.

A.D. 1421. so that the people seeing it, may give due thanks to God.

Nor let it offend my readers that I, a man of so little note, so far exhort my lord to follow the example of the Saints, or that I compare his life with theirs; for Our Saviour in many of his acts bids us be followers of Him. Whence he says, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart;"¹ and in another place, "I have given you an example, that as I have done, so should you do also."² Of the other festivals which fall in this month let us think no more than this, that our king should honour them with a certain chief and special devotion as being near his entrance into the world, that when he shall leave this world he may be the better supported by favour of those whom they commemorate.

Capgrave refers to his own ordination.

I heard the voice of the churches, and the ringing of bells, when the birth of our king was made known in London, for I was then studying there, in the fourth or fifth year after I was raised to the priesthood; and the rejoicing of the people has not yet faded from my memory. For I deem that that praise and that rejoicing were omens of the peace which a great company of wise men expect to come in your days, my king. If I had no precedent, I would not write thus. But we read in the life of S. Dunstan that on the birth of Edgar, the son of king Edmund surnamed Ironside, the said prelate heard the voices of Angels on high, saying,—“Peace to the church of England in the time of the boy now born and of our Dunstan.” And since the church militant conforms herself as far as she can to the church triumphant; and since she is secretly conformed to it by the working of the Holy Ghost; I deem that those voices and rejoicings will in time be fulfilled, that, as the people wishes and the devout pray, there may

¹ S. Matthew, xi. 29.

| ² S. John, xiii. 15.

come to be one heart in the two kingdoms, as they have A.D. 1421.
both of them already one God, one Faith, one Baptism.¹

Let this be enough to say of the birth of our king; for him I write this, to the intent that, if God has done great things for him, he may know how very often and how greatly he is His debtor.

Now I will pass on to his later life, and write what I A.D. 1429.
have learned, but only by hearsay.

I have been informed by many that our illustrious king received the crown² of this most renowned kingdom in the eighth year of his age at Westminster, near London, on the feast of the Blessed Confessor and most sweet Comforter, Leonard.³ Truly it was a fitting day, since the one was wont to set free the bound; the other, full of piety, will not willingly bring his subjects into bondage.

The coronation of Henry VI. at Westminster.

Then in the year following he journeyed into France. A.D. 1431.
And there also, at Paris, he took the comely diadem, on the Sunday on which the Church is wont to sing, for the Introit of the Mass, the Office,—“All that Thou hast done for us, in true judgment hast Thou done it,” &c.⁴ And at Paris.

O God, how can these good beginnings lead to an evil end, unless indeed our sins be the cause!

For when we weigh in our minds the time, the journey, the fewness of the people, as well as the order of the omens, all fall in happy order. On the journey he harmed none, neither did any one trouble him; passing on his way with but a few attendants he wonderfully escaped, contrary to the expectation of many. Covered by the shield of God, and carried under the shadow of His wings, not like a fugitive from Jerusalem, but like a servant of the Apostles, he

¹ Ephesians, vi. 5.

² The coronation took place on the sixth of November in the year 1429. Capgrave says that he was crowned at Paris “in the following year,” which is a mistake; the latter event occurred on the seventeenth of December, 1431.

³ November 6.

⁴ “Omnia quæ nobis fecisti, in vero judicio fecisti,” &c.—the beginning of the Introit for the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost, i. e., in the year 1431, October 14.

A.D. 1431. rested under the wings of the Blessed Hen to which Christ compares Himself. And as it is written in the song of Moses, that one put a thousand to flight, and two chased ten thousand,¹ so our king was suffered with a few people to pass through many dangers, and with a few to cast down the minds of many.

Of that double anointing many have different opinions; and I will not hide mine. For I read that David was thrice anointed; first in his own father's house by Samuel, as is clear from the sixteenth chapter of the first Book of Kings;² secondly in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, as is clear from the second chapter of the second Book of Kings;³ and thirdly over all Israel, as is clear from the fifth chapter of the same book.⁴

These three anointings of David may be applied, I think, to our king in such wise that I may refer the first to the anointing of his baptism, the second to his anointing unto this kingdom, and the third to the occasion of his elevation to the throne of the noble kingdom of France. And of these the first, indeed, was celebrated in his own father's house, because, when we are born into the world, before we are regenerated, we are children of wrath, pertaining to that parent and to that house, of which it is written in the forty-fourth Psalm, "Forget also thine own people, and thy father's house."⁵ The second over Judah, as the lesser number. The third over all Israel, as the greater. And these two prefigured by an apt similitude these two kingdoms of England and France.

Many persons of a malignant disposition, interpreting amiss this coronation of our king, continue to sow among the people such murmuring words as these, — "Alas for thee, O land, whose king is a boy, and whose princes eat in the morning."⁶ But this saying of Solomon's ought

¹ Deuteronomy, xxxii. 30.

² 1 Samuel, xvi. 13.

³ 2 Samuel, ii. 4.

⁴ 2 Samuel, v. 3.

⁵ Psalm xlv. 10.

⁶ Ecclesiastes, x. 16.

not, I apprehend, to be applied to the number of years, A.D. 1431. but to immaturity of manners. Wherefore also in the eleventh chapter of the fourth Book of Kings¹ it is recorded that Joash was hidden in the Temple with his nurse; and that after he had been concealed there for the space of seven years, the high priest Jehoiada took him and anointed him to be king, and that, as is supposed, before the tenth year of his age. Again, in the twenty-second chapter of the same book,² it is said that Josiah was only eight years old when he began to reign. Moreover, we read concerning the Blessed Martyr Edward, and also concerning the Blessed Kenelm, who was crowned with his own blood, that they were both very young when they took in hand the reins of government.

What mean all these examples but that “the kingdom is the Lord’s, and He it is who will rule among the nations.”³ And it is quite as much within His power to judge a people in peace under an innocent youth, as under the rigorous rule of older men.

Now the *Glossa Ordinaria*⁴ on this passage, and also the Doctor de Lira,⁵ seem to favour the aforesaid interpretation, to wit, that the words in question do not allude to the number of years but to the stability of morals. In accordance with which the former says, — “‘Alas for thee, O land, whose king is a boy,’ i. e. the devil who always rejoices in novelties.” And the latter expounds the passage thus:— “‘Woe unto thee, O land, whose king is a boy,’ because in consequence of that the subjects lose all good manners and proper feelings.”

May the Lord take away from our realm these pestilent murmurers, who delight to prophesy evil things; for I trust

¹ 2 Kings, xi. 2—13.

² 2 Kings, xxii. 1

³ Psalm xxii. 28.

⁴ “*Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria Wallerfridi Strabonis.*” Basle, 1486.

⁵ See his “*Expositiones Librorum Testamenti Veteris et Novi*,” (Rome, 1471,) vol. xi.

A.D. 1431. in the Lord that I shall see our borders in peace and prosperity, and our days happy, before the day of my death!

May my king from henceforth have a good trust that He who hath begun a good work will also finish it.¹ May he with glad patience attend to the causes of the realm, and by the interposition of justice may he rightly judge!

For we read thus concerning the Blessed Louis, from whose stock our king descends:—The causes of the poor, and their complaints twice in the week at least, he listened to in person. Sitting publicly in an open place, and by the interposition of justice, of pity in most cases, he caused their business, as well as the business relating to the faith, when laid before him by prelates or inquisitors, to be conducted with all despatch. For it is a holy and a pious deed, and harmonious with the kingly majesty, to command nothing but what is honest, to judge nothing but what is just, to give no counsel but that which is fair and equal, and himself first to set an example in his own person of the things which he commands to others.

In accordance with this are the words of Theodosius the Great, which I have found thus metrically rendered:—

“Whatever law thou bidst thy people keep,
Keep first thyself; thy subjects will not fail
To render due obedience, if thou
Shalt be thyself obedient; the whole world
Is moulded to the model of its kings,
Who rule less by their codes than by their life.”

The praises
of the
King.

Oh, that the subjects of our king would incline to follow his example, in the reverence with which he adores the sign of the Cross whenever his priests meet him. For I know that many brave men, who previously had entertained no great veneration for the Cross, have, by the example of our most devoted monarch, been moved to a

¹ Philippians, i. 6.

greater fervour of faith, and to a most dutiful affection for A.D. 1431.
the all-glorious sign of Christ our Lord.

It is said of him, moreover, and long experience justifies the saying, that in no way did he willingly molest the church or ecclesiastics, wisely imitating in this particular Constantine the Great, inasmuch as, both in the veneration of the sign of the Holy Cross, and in his pious behaviour towards ecclesiastical persons, he was distinguished above all; in proof of which I have extracted two relations from ancient historical documents.

When Constantine was about to fight against the tyrant Maxentius, and was anxiously revolving in his mind many things, he saw in a vision, in the direction of the eastern sky, the sign of the Cross, glowing with fiery splendour. And when he was much frightened at so great a sight, he saw two angels standing beside him, who said,—“O Constantine, behold what this is; in this conquer.” Then, indeed, full of joy, and already feeling secure of victory, he traced upon his own forehead that sign which he had seen in the sky. And immediately, in the places where he had caused images to be erected in honour of the triumphant senate, he commanded the standard of the Lord’s Cross to be painted, with an inscription under it to testify that, by the virtue of this precious symbol, he had restored the city of Rome to its olden liberty. And he, invited as he was from Heaven to come unto the Faith, appears to me to be in no respect inferior to him to whom in like manner a voice came from heaven, when it was said to him,—“Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?”¹—“I am Jesus of Nazareth;”² except that this man was invited when he was no longer following after, but had already attained. Immediately afterwards he caused his military standards to be made in the form of the sign which had been shown to him in the heavens. Thus much indeed concerning his veneration of the Cross.

¹ Acts, ix. 4.

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² Acts, ix. 5.

A.D. 1431.

But concerning his reverence for the priests, I have made the following extracts from a book of Ecclesiastical History, in which an account is thus given of his presence and long continued sitting in the Council of Nice:—"There is one admirable act of the prince in that Council which I think I ought not to pass over in silence: for when the bishops had assembled together from all parts, and according to their usual custom had brought thither quarrels of their own, arising from various causes, the emperor was continually being interrupted by individuals, written accusations were frequently offered to him, and charges alleged; and, indeed, they all gave their minds rather to this than to the business for the sake of which they were come together.

"But he appointed a certain day, on which he would settle their complaints, receiving everyone's petition. These all he placed in his bosom and said to the bishops,— 'God has made you priests, and has given unto you the power of judging concerning us; for ye are given by God to be as gods, and it is not seemly that a man should judge gods, but He alone concerning whom it is written,— "God standeth in the congregation of princes: He is a judge among gods."'¹ And so, passing over these matters, discern ye between those things which pertain to the faith of God, without any contention in your own minds.' And when he had said this he commanded all the writings of their complaints to be burned, lest this insincerity of the priests should be known to any man."

Such are those memorials of the deeds of the pious prince Constantine, which ought to be imitated by future generations.

A.D. 1441.

In the nineteenth year² of his reign this most devout

¹ Psalm lxxxii. 1.

² It should be borne in mind that Capgrave was preparing this work for the special perusal of King Henry the Sixth, and in honour of his name; and this, of course, sufficiently accounts for the fact that he has passed over all the important and interest-

ing events of the first eighteen years of his reign. Clearly he was afraid to discuss the questions of the day as long as the Prince whom they chiefly concerned was alive. If he had lived to finish his *English Chronicle* he would, without doubt, have described the incidents of the reign of

king founded two glorious colleges, and expended a great amount of money, and much solicitude in the business of their erection. At the time of the laying of the foundation stone, he adorned the work with his presence, and offered up his foundation to the Most High God with the utmost devotion, of which I was an eye-witness.

A.D. 1441.
Henry
founds
Eton Col-
lege and
King's Col-
lege, Cam-
bridge.

The first of these has just been erected at Eton, near Windsor, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹ The second was built at Cambridge, in honour of S. Nicholas the Pope, of the foundation of which latter, and the king's presence at the laying of the first stone, a certain illustrious versifier has composed the following stanzas:—

“Born on thy feast-day, Nicholas, to thy praise
Our Sixth King Henry dedicates this work :
Who first in Eton laid a sacred stone,
Now, for his clergy, lays its fellow here.
The year was fourteen hundred forty-one,
The time — when Easter-tide was drawing nigh ;
That year — the nineteenth of our sovereign's reign,
That day — the second in the month of April,²
Martyr of God, who now does reign in Heaven,
Pray for our king that he may share its joys.”³

Henry the Sixth as carefully and accurately as he has recorded those of the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth, as that work is dedicated to Edward the Fourth. The loss of the comments of so clear-headed and ingenuous a writer on a period of which we know comparatively so little satisfactorily, can scarcely be estimated. The remainder of this chapter contains a few curious passages, especially the account of the King's visit to the Austin Friary at Lynn; but these are curious rather than important, and serve for little more than to tantalise us for the loss of the contemporary history which Capgrave

had it in his power to give, and withheld for motives so unworthy of him.

¹ The foundation stone of Eton College was laid on the eleventh of October, 1440.

² Easter Day fell on the sixteenth of April in the year 1441.

³ This account of the foundation of King's College, Cambridge, does not exactly agree with that usually received. The following extracts from the “*Memorials of Cambridge*,” (compiled by Thomas Wright and H. Longueville Jones,) may be relied upon as correct:—“We learn from the College Archives, and from the History of Cambridge by Dr. Caius,

A.D. 1441.
Appoint-
ment of the
Provosts.

Over these colleges he set two influential men as provosts, one of them — Master William Millington — I know personally. He presides over the college at Cambridge, and in the questionings in the schools, as well as in profound literature and in the perfection of his morals, surpasses many who had gone before him. The other, who is called William of Waynflete,¹ is little dissimilar to the former, and, as is supposed, is held dear by our lord the king, not so much on account of his wholesome knowledge as of his celibate life.

that the King on the 12th of February, A.D. 1441, founded a small college for a rector and twelve scholars." It was not till the year 1443 that he "founded one fair college for one provost, seventy fellows and scholars, three chaplains, six clerks, sixteen choristers, and a master over them, sixteen officers of the foundation, besides twelve servitors to the seven fellows and six poor scholars." Capgrave, it will be observed, has placed his first foundation of the college in April instead of in February, and has anticipated the appointment of a provost. "The first provost of the college appointed by the royal founder was Dr. William Millington, who in 1443 was removed to this society from that of Clare Hall." The following account of him, extracted from Cole's MSS. relating to King's College, and quoted in the "Memorials," will be read with interest:—"William Millington was born at Pocklington, in the county of York, and received his education at Clare Hall, from whence he was elected by the royal founder of this college to be provost of his noble foundation on the 10 of April, 1443. He was Doctor of Divinity, and was a person of great judgment, as should seem by his being appointed jointly with

the King's Council to form a body of statutes for the government of the college. There is a common opinion in the college, and inserted in all the historiettes, that after he had sat 3 years at the head of this House, the King, upon information that he was guilty of partiality in endeavouring to prefer his countrymen of Yorkshire in preference to all others, ejected him and sent him back to Clare Hall. But the true reason of his removal seems to proceed from himself and a point of conscience, he having taken the oaths to the Chancellor of the University before he was made provost, and which the new-drawn statutes exempted him from; besides he was not thoroughly satisfied that the scholars should all come from Eton School. Upon which accounts, however, he left the government of this College, and retired to Clare Hall in 1446, where he was chosen Master, and where he presided 20 years, dying in 1466, in May, and was buried in S. Edward's Church in Cambridge."

¹ He was called "Waynflete" from the place of his birth: his name was Patten. He succeeded Cardinal Beaufort in the See of Winchester in the year 1447, and died in the year 1486. Magdalen College in Oxford was founded by him.

We seldom read of kings being worsted by their enemies, A.D. 1441.
or befouled by evil fame, who have laboured to extend the worship of God, since it was in accordance with their deserts that they who had subdued their own selves unto the Lord, should themselves subdue the necks of their subjects.

One witness to the truth of this among others I could mention, is Edgar, the first monarch of this realm after the time of its division. He is said to have been the founder of forty monasteries, among which the chief are Glastonbury — where he rests — Abingdon, Peterborough, and Thorney. Behold to how great fame was the founder of these holy places elevated! For we read concerning him, that on a certain river, near the City of Legions, which is now called Chester, himself sitting on the stern of a certain barge, and holding the tiller of the rudder in his hand, he was conveyed along by some six or eight kings, who sat at the oars. And when, rowing with such pomp, he had returned to his palace, he is reported to have said to his nobles, that then, and not till then, would any of his successors be able to boast that he was the king of England, when he should attain to such glory by the homage of so many kings. And no wonder that he flourished with so wide a dominion, since not only was he accustomed to send his ships to keep the sea, but also adorned this sea-guard with his presence every year. For annually, after Easter, he used to collect four hundred ships, and send one hundred to every division of England, by which means he circumnavigated the island in the summer; in the winter, however, he devoted himself to the execution of justice in the provinces.

What does it avail us to read of the examples of these illustrious men, and not to imitate them? For it is the opinion of many that, if the sea were kept by our navy, many good results would follow,—it would give a safe conduct to merchants, secure access to fishers, the quiet of peace to the inhabitants of the kingdom, to our king him-

Decline of
the English
Navy.

A.D. 1441. self a large measure of glory. Our enemies laugh at us, and say,—"Take the 'ship' off from your precious money, and stamp a 'sheep' upon it, showing thereby your own cowardice,"—we, since who used to be the conquerors of all nations, are now being conquered by all nations. The men of old used to call the sea "the wall of England," and what think you that our enemies, now that they are upon the wall, will do to the inhabitants who are unprepared to receive them? Forasmuch as this matter has already for the space of many years been neglected, on that account it has happened that already our ships are scanty, our sailors few in number, and those unskilled in seamanship, from want of practice. May the Lord take away this our reproach, and raise up the spirit of bravery in our nation! May He strip off the false and feigned friendships of nations, lest on a sudden, when we dread them not, they come upon us!¹

A.D. 1445.
Marriage
of Henry
VI.

Moreover, in the twenty-third year of his reign, solemn nuptials were celebrated between him and the lady Margaret, the daughter of the king of Sicily,² the venerable master William Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury,³ giving them his blessing. This marriage the whole people believe will be pleasing to God and to the realm, because that peace and abundant crops came to us with it.⁴ And I pray the Heavenly King that He will so protect them with His

¹ This at least is sufficiently strong language, and it seems remarkable that Capgrave could write in such a strain and yet be afraid, as he evidently was, to detail the events of the then present reign. The words of the enemy's reproach,—"Tollite *navem* de pretiosa moneta vestra, et imprimate *ovem*, vecordiam vestram in hoc arguentes," must have been translated from some English authority: the play on the words "ship" and "sheep" is lost in the Latin.

² Margaret of Anjou, the daughter

of René, the titular King of Sicily. After faithfully following the fortunes of her husband, and sharing his sorrows, she died on the 25th of August, 1481, at Dampierre, near Saumur, in Anjou.

³ He succeeded Robert Neville in the See of Salisbury in the year 1437, and held it till the day of his murder, June the twenty-ninth, 1450.

⁴ In the autograph MS. in the margin opposite to this passage are written the words,—"Compiler adulavit."

Own right hand, that their love may never be dissolved, and that such fruit of the womb may be granted unto them as the Psalmist speaks of when he says:—"Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine upon the walls of thy house, thy children like the olive-branches round about thy table. Lo! thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord."¹ A.D. 1445.

Now I have thought it well in the present place to introduce a few short notes on the dignity of marriage in praise of that Sacrament, especially intended for the perusal of those who praise a single life to such a degree that they seem as it were to condemn matrimonial alliances. But that marriage is a good thing is proved by the fact, not only that, as we read, the Lord Himself instituted it between our first parents,² but that also He was present at a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and himself sanctioned the bond by working a miracle, even by turning water into wine;³ who also afterwards forbade a man to put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication.⁴

Notes on
Matri-
mony.

Therefore, since marriage is a Sacrament, and a sign of a sacred thing, to wit of the union that is betwixt Christ and His Church, as the Apostle says in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians, quoting that passage from the second chapter of Genesis,—“It is written,” are his words, “A man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh. This is a great Sacrament. But I speak concerning Christ and the Church.”⁵

It is no marvel if an alliance of this kind be worthy of honour, seeing it is applied to so great a mystery. For even as between married persons the connection is of two kinds, spiritual and corporeal, so also is the Church joined unto Christ both by will and by nature, because she wishes for that with Him, and He took His human form from the nature of man. For the bride is joined unto her husband

¹ Psalm cxxviii. 3, 4.

² Genesis, i. 28.

³ S. John, ii. 1, 2.

⁴ S. Matthew, v. 32.

⁵ Ephesians, v. 31, 32.

A.D. 1445. both spiritually and corporeally, that is, by love, and according to the dictates of nature. And of this twofold connection there is a figure in marriage. For the mutual consent of the married persons signifies the spiritual union which is betwixt Christ and His Church, and which is effected by love. But the union of the sexes signifies that which is according to the dictates of nature.

Such are the general commendations of the ancients, which they have given utterance to in praise of matrimony. But I, to come to individual examples, desire that my lord may abide in that sacred alliance on which he has now entered, and may in faith possess those good things of marriage, which have been assigned to it by S. Augustin;¹—faith, that he may not break his conjugal vow; offspring, which may both be lovingly brought up and religiously educated; and a sacramental vow, that this wedlock may never be dissolved. For these are the good things of marriage.

Oh, may this wedding be as was in old time the wedding of Tobias and Sarah, of which it is said, that they celebrated their marriage feast in the fear of the Lord!—Tob. ix.²

Oh, may it be the cause of peace among the people, even as peace was given unto the Jews on the marriage of Esther!—Esth. ii.³

Oh, may it be of so high and holy an ordering, that at the last those words may be worthily verified in the case of the married pair,—“Blessed are they who are called to sit down at the marriage supper of the Lamb!”—Apoc. xix.⁴

A.D. 1446.
Henry's
visit to
Lynn.

In the twenty-fourth year of his reign,⁵ this most devout king, in the course of the solemn pilgrimage which he made to the Holy Places, received into his favour the place of the Hermit Friars of S. Augustin in the town of Lynn, promising to his priests who dwelt there, by his

¹ See S. August. contra Julianum Pelagianum, lib. v. cap. 12.

² Tobit, viii. 16.

³ Esther, ii. 18.

⁴ Rev. xix. 9.

⁵ In the autograph MS. the words “Data compilatoris” are written in the margin opposite this passage.

own mouth, that from thenceforth that place should be regarded as closely connected with himself, and also with his successors lawfully begotten of his body. That he himself, also, and his successors, as before, should be regarded as its founder, or founders, not in name only, but in deed and in truth. These events occurred on the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula,¹ in the year of our Lord, 1446, and in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our illustrious lord king, as we said above.²

And forasmuch as many lying and double-tongued men have, as I have heard, taken occasion to say, after the departure of our king, that the place had had a founder from its very earliest days, whose name, however, they know not how to insinuate, on that account the writer of the present work, who also gave his lord information concerning this matter, seeing that his character has been partially injured by the imputation that the information which he gave his lord the king was false, here clearly sets forth the whole truth of this matter, as collected from ancient charters and sealed instruments:—

Be it known then that the said Hermit Friars of S. Augustin³ first entered the town of Lynn, with the intention of making their abode there, in the twenty-second year of the reign of the second king Edward, counting from the conquest. This is found to be capable of proof from the licence of the king (who wrote that he was the son of king Henry, and marks this as the number of the years of his reign) in his charter to a certain widow of

Account of
the gradual
rise of the
Austin
Friary at
Lynn.

¹ August 1.

² Capgrave's accuracy is proved by the Privy Seals of the 24 Henry VI. From these it appears that (as here stated) he was at Lynn on the first of August, and there directed the issue of a grant to the Prioress and Nuns of Crabbouse, in the county of Norfolk. On the sixth of August

he was at Colchester. On the eleventh of August, at Stratford Langthorne. On the sixteenth of August we find him at Windsor.

³ A full account of this Friary, so far as it is now possible to obtain authentic information will be found in the *Chronicle of England*, Appendix V., p. 368.

A.D. 1446. good conversation, whose name was Margaret Southmere.¹ Now the land which was granted first by this lady to the Friars measured a hundred feet in length, and twenty-four feet in breadth. Our place, thus begun in a narrow spot, increased by the presentation of many parcels of land, as is set forth in divers royal charters. For we have another charter granted to Humphrey de Wykyn,² concerning his land; and another to Robert de Wykyn,³ for his messuage; also yet another to Thomas de Lexham,⁴ for his messuage. Also another, of a larger benefaction to certain inhabitants of Lynn,⁵ for five messuages.

See, then, most dear lord, thy little plot, composed of

¹ See Escæt. Norf. 22 Edw. 1. n. 102. "For a messuage in Lynn, the gift of Margaret de Suthmere." Pat. 23 Edw. I. 12.

² See Calendar. Inquis. ad quod damnum, (Edit. 1803,) 3 Edw. III. num. 36, page 290. "Humphrey de Wykene on behalf of the Prior of Lynni Bishop:—For one piece of ground in the said town, adjoining to the house of the Friars of S. Augustin, measuring one hundred and fifty-four feet in length, and forty-eight in width."

³ See Calendar. Inquis. ad quod damnum, 12 Edw. III. num. 4, page 303. "Robert de Wykyn:—Gift to the Prior of Lynn Bishop of one messuage with its appurtenances for the enlargement of his house."

⁴ See Calendar. Inquis. post mortem, i. 200. "Thomas de Lexham on behalf of the Prior of S. Augustin at Lynn. One messuage in Lynn with its appurtenances."

⁵ These were Thomas Drew; William Bittering; John de Conteshale; John Drew; Robert de Cokesford, and Agnes his wife; Richard de Honton, and Alice his wife; Alice, relict of Richard Cosyn, and William Pilton, the executors of Richard Cosyn. See the *Chronicle of England*, page

369. Note (1). In Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1594 (ed. London, 1830), the following notice of this Friary is given:—"The Augustin Friars settled here in the beginning of Edward the First's reign, as appears by a writ 'ad quod damnum,' for a messuage in Lynne, granted to them by Margaret de Southmere, Inquis. 22 Edw. I. n. 112. This monastery stood in the northern part of the town in Hogman's Lane, alias Hopman's Way. Besides other grants they had, 6 Richard II., a patent for an aqueduct to be made by them from Gaywoode. In the 7th Henry IV. they had a patent to enlarge their manse, and 1 Henry V. a patent for certain messuages granted to them. This house was surrendered to the King by the Prior and four brethren, 30th Sept. 1539; 30th Henry VIII. to John Eyre. . . . The buildings of this Convent were sufficiently extensive in 1498 to receive King Henry VIIIth, his Queen, his Mother, the Prince of Wales, and a numerous retinue during their visit to Lynne. The site is now in possession of various owners, [the old buildings having been utterly destroyed.]"

many small parcels of ground, and united into one; and A.D. 1446.
impress on thy heart that there are there thirty priests,
besides deacons, subdeacons, and youthful offshoots¹ of the
inferior order to the number of sixteen; and consider that
these hold thee in special remembrance.

If, however, thou dost desire any more minute information, let thy Majesty command, and thy servants will obey.

May thy royal Majesty live long to the honour of God, the support of the Church, and the settlement of the realm!²

¹ Namely, acolytes, and others of the inferior orders.

² Capgrave evidently intended to have added something more to his brief sketch of the character, rather than the doings of Henry VI., and left a whole leaf of the vellum bare

for the purpose in his autograph copy. He altered his mind, however, and wrote at the bottom of the page (for the direction of his scribe)—
“Make no space, but writh forth—
INVOCATO,” i.e. the first word of the Third Part.

THE THIRD PART.

INTRODUCTORY

TO

THE THIRD PART.



INVOKING the aid of the Holy Ghost, I approach the Third ^{Introductory.} Part of this Book, and bring before the notice of my King certain illustrious men who have borne this Name, scattered throughout the whole world, and of different degrees and dignities; asking of him but this one thing, that he turn not away from me the eye of that clemency which is natural to him, although so insignificant a person as myself may be considered presumptuous for attempting a work beyond my powers, and which I have not clothed in the choicest flowers of language. For good faith and good intentions are of far more avail than words.

The illustrious men whose names follow in this present Part are twelve in number.

Indeed I hope that I shall be able to find yet more men

Introductory.

of excellent life, and to add to this work some of those who are now alive, to the praise and exaltation of my King, who, crowned by the title of a glorious Name, holds by a harmonious interpretation many honourable, nay most honourable men of the same Name.

OF HENRY,
KING OF THE DACI.¹

CHAPTER I.

HENRY, King of the Daci, reigned about the year of our A.D. 1241.
Lord 1200. He was a man full of faith, and with all jus- Eric VI.
tice swaying his people, insomuch that he was made worthy King of
to attain unto the agony of martyrdom. Denmark.

Now as to the order in which he was killed, and the persons who did the deed, wandering in my words for a short space, I describe them for pious ears.

There had been in the kingdom of the Bohemians, about Spitigneus.
the year of our Lord 900, a certain duke, who was called Spitigneus.² This man, indeed, was converted to the Faith by the preaching of certain Catholic Christians, and ruled over his subjects justly and piously.

He was succeeded by his son Wenceslas,³ who was dis- Wenceslas.
tinguished for his justice and sanctity.

But his brother Boleslas,⁴ filled with envy at his pious Boleslas.
and holy deeds, rose against him unjustly, as Cain, preparing treachery against him; and, aspiring to the sovereignty, he basely slew him.

To avenge this murder the emperor Otho harassed Bohemia with war for the space of fourteen years, and at

¹ That is, Eric VI., King of Denmark, who succeeded Waldemar the Victorious in the year 1241.

² Spitigneus I.

³ Wenceslas I. The succession

was not immediate; Spitigneus died in the year 907, when Wratisslas I. reigned; Wenceslas succeeded Wratisslas in the year 916.

⁴ Boleslas I.

A.D. 1241. length conquered Boleslas himself. For, indeed, no otherwise could the justice of God go forth with an equal dart, unless the homicide were cast down from his throne. "For the justice of God," saith S. Chrysostom, "knows not to give its protection to the criminal."¹ And since no man is worthy to come to so glorious an end of martyrdom, save only in whom a good life has gone before, as saith Augustin,²—so I am of opinion that there is sufficient reason why I should describe the life of this holy martyr Wenceslas, before I proceed to the passion of the said Henry.

The holy
life of
Wenceslas.

For, though he was a prince, and the possessor of vast wealth, nevertheless he was of so great humility and devotion that he used to arise secretly by night, and go, with only one slave attending him, to his forest, and bearing wood thence on his own shoulders, he used to lay it secretly at the doors of widows and poor persons, for the sake of Christ relieving their poverty by his own toil, when he was able to relieve them abundantly without such hard labour. He used also to collect corn in his field, and secretly tearing off the stalks and making wafers with his own hand, he distributed them among the churches. This blessed martyr, after an interval of three hundred years from his passion, appeared to Henry, king of the Daci, when he was asleep, in a vision, and revealed to him the kind of death by which it was appointed that he should die. Worthily indeed did the duke call forth the king—still more worthily did the martyr summon the martyr to the Kingdom of Heaven. Moreover, he admonished the king in dreams that he—the said Wenceslas—who appeared to him, was

¹ This quotation is wrongly made. The original passage will be found in the forty-second of the fifty-four Latin Homilies, incorporated in most editions of S. Chrysostom's Works with the genuine Homilies, but now generally supposed to be spurious. Capgrave has quoted the words care-

lessly, and not improved the sense by substituting "*criminosus*" for "*criminibus*." The original passage runs thus:—"The justice of God knows not to give protection to *crimes*." See Ed. 1588; col. 885 A.

² See S. Augustin's Works, vol. x. Sermon 47, col. 1267 B. (Ed. 1569.)

known formerly as the duke of the Bohemians, and had A.D. 1241. been killed by his brother for envy. He added also a request that he should with diligent study search out the place of his burial, and, having translated his remains, should erect a church over them, wherein the sacred mysteries should be celebrated to the honour of the Lord.¹

But king Henry, waking from sleep, and astonished at the vision, called together princes and prelates of his kingdom, and inquired concerning S. Wenceslas,—whose name he had never before heard mentioned,—of what region and state he was, and in what spot he was buried after his passion. And when he had been informed by certain of his counsellors that he whom he sought had been a duke of Bohemia, and had suffered the death of martyrdom a very long time ago, he believed in the aforesaid vision, and received it as being sent from Heaven. And he sent special messengers to fetch the relics of the said Saint, and when with great desire he had obtained them, he laid them near his palace, and built over them the noble monastery of the order of the Cistercians which is called Rivalla, and he replenished the church with an abundance of valuable possessions.

True, indeed, is that which our Lord is recorded in the A.D. 1250. Gospel to have said, —“He that hath received a righteous Death of man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man’s reward.”² For because this king Henry so Eric VI. venerated the righteous duke Wenceslas, the holy martyr

¹ The story is thus quaintly told in the *Chronicle of England*:—“In this tyme Spigrenus, Duke of Bem, was converted to the Feith, and lyved afir that a ful blessed lif. Necenlaus, his son, folowid his fader steppes; and for envye his brothir killid him. And CCC. afir his passioun he appered to Kyng Herri, King of Danis, and told him that he schuld deye in the same manere whch he deyed; praying him that,

in the honoure of Nycenlaus, he schuld make a monasteri. The Kyng, whan he was awakid, called his servauntis, and inquired what this Nycenlaus was. They answered him,—A prince of the lond of Bem, wrongfully slayn be his brothir. And anon he ded mak a monasteri of the Cistewis, and leide the body there undir.”

² S. Matthew, x. 41.

A.D. 1250. of God, as to build a worthy church to his honour in his country, he also received this reward from the righteous Judge, that he, a happy king, should follow that happy duke to receive the palm of martyrdom. For when no long interval of time had elapsed, this king, full of good deeds, was murdered by a wicked brother of his whose name was Abel.

O Abel, most disgraceful to the memory of so great a name! What doest thou both against thy own name, and contrary to the path of justice? For the first man who bore thy name not only consecrated his life with modesty and sanctity, but even with martyrdom. And thou, O most vile of men, thou homicide and conspirator, hast not only slain a man, but that man thy brother and thy lord! Thou hast procured infamy for that most holy name, thou hast debased that famous name, and, leaving the worst of examples to posterity, hast offended against the laws. Oh that in the glorious conflict thou couldest attain to thy brother's pardon, who not only while he suffered prayed for his persecutors, but even now that he is crowned in glory prays for them!

Such are the deeds of the blessed king Henry which have been able to reach unto our time. There are some who say that after his death he shone with glorious miracles, and afforded remedies for all manner of diseases, through the operation of Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

OF HENRY,
KING OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY, King of France, the son of that venerable man, Hugh Capet, reigned in France about the year of our Lord 1030. He was a man of the highest virtues, to whom it was always a delightful thing to show reverence to churches, and continually by some new method of benevolence to assist those servants of the Lord whom he knew to be chaste and of a good character.

A.D. 1031.

Henry I.
King of
France.

This prince brought up William, duke of Normandy (afterwards king of England, and called the Conqueror), when he was a boy. Moreover, he afforded him his aid, not only in acquiring the rule of his native land, but also in obtaining the realm of England, which belong to him by hereditary right.

He aids
William of
Normandy.

But Ivo of Chartres says,¹ that Hugh Capet was the father of Robert, and Robert of this Henry. Henry the First, therefore, according to him, reigned about the year of our Lord, 1031, and he reigned twenty-seven years.

When he had reigned so many years, and had been given up to devotion and pious works, that he might have greater

A.D. 1059.

He resigns
the crown
to his Son.

¹ "Robert, the son of Hugh, the thirtieth King of France, reigned thirty-five years. . . . Henry, the son of Robert, the thirty-first King of France, reigned thirty-two years." See "Ivonis Episcopi Carnotensis Chronicon de Regibus Francorum,"

(ed. Paris, 1585), fol. 259 *b*. Capgrave, though he quotes Ivo, (who says that Henry I. reigned thirty-two years,) says he reigned only twenty-seven years. He died in 1060, after a reign of thirty years.

A.D. 1059. leisure for these things which he had conceived in his mind, caused his son, with the consent of the prelates and nobles of the realm, to be anointed, and crowned king at Rheims, by the hands of Gervase, archbishop of Rheims, in the year of our Lord 1056.¹ And in the second year after, he committed Philip, who was yet a youth, as well as the regency of the kingdom, to Baldwin, count of Flanders.²

Genealogy
of the
Kings of
France,
written by
Henry I.

Among other things worthy of note which he did, he compiled a catalogue or genealogy of the kings of France, from the first founder of his race up to the very time in which he himself reigned; a copy of which I have decided on introducing in this place, to his perpetual fame:—

The first inhabitant of this land was Antenor, descended from the race of the Trojans, who escaped from the ruin, and founded a city on the confines of Pannonia, called Sygambria. And he, when he had waged most glorious wars, left leaders after him of no indifferent repute.

When the noble Trojan Antenor was dead, these leaders assembled together for the purpose of choosing a prince. And when there arose a division among them they chose two, Tergotus and Franco. From this Franco, some are of opinion that the province of France derived its name.

On the death of Franco, Marconurus was elected.

He begat Pharamund, the first king of the Franks.

Pharamund begat Clovis, called "Crinitus," after whom the kings of the Franks were called "Criniti."

On the death of Clovis, Moroveus, his relation, reigned,

¹ The dates in this passage are all more or less confused. Philip the First was crowned on the 25th of May in the year 1059. His first regnal year is differently dated by different authorities: some give the year of his father's death, viz. 1060; others the year of Philip's assumption of the kingdom, viz. 1061; others

the year 1067, in which the Regent Baldwin died.

² In the autograph MS. the whole of the passage beginning "But Ivo," and ending in this place is written in the margin, having clearly been added at a later time, and by Capgrave's own hand.

after whom the kings of France were for some time called A.D. 1059.

“Morovingi.”

Moroveus begat Childeric.¹

Childeric begat Clovis,² whom S. Remigius baptized.

Clovis begat Clotaire.³

Clotaire begat Chilperic.⁴

Chilperic begat Clotaire the Second.⁵

Clotaire begat the most famous Dagobert.⁶

Dagobert begat Clovis.⁷

And Clovis begat three sons of his holy queen, Batilda,—

Clotaire,⁸

Childeric,⁹

And Thierry.¹⁰

Thierry begat Clotaire,¹¹ who was the last king of this dynasty.

After him reigned Hilderic,¹² who afterwards, leaving the world, deserted his kingdom, and taking the tonsure, retired into a monastery, Pepin having been made king.

¹ Childeric I.

² Clovis I.

³ Clotaire I., King of Soissons in France. On the death of Clovis I., in the year 511, the kingdom was divided into four,—Thierry I. reigning in Metz, Clodomir in Orleans, Chilperic I. in Paris, and Clotaire I. in Soissons. Clotaire became sole King of France on the death of Chilperic in the year 558. On his death, however, in 561, the fourfold division was again established.

⁴ Chilperic I., King of Soissons, Sigebert I. reigning in Metz, Gontran in Orleans, and Charibert I. in Paris.

⁵ King of Soissons. He became sole King of France in the year 613.

⁶ Dagobert I.

⁷ Clovis II. He was not King of the whole of France, but of Neustria.

⁸ Clotaire III., King of Neustria from A.D. 656 to A.D. 670.

⁹ Childeric II., King of Austrasia from A.D. 660 to A.D. 674.

¹⁰ Thierry III., King of Neustria from A.D. 670 to A.D. 691.

¹¹ A mistake for Clovis III., who succeeded Thierry in the year 691.

¹² Chilperic III. succeeded Clovis III. in the year 695, and reigned till 711. He was succeeded by Dagobert III., who was succeeded in the year 715 by Chilperic II., who in the year 720 was succeeded by Thierry IV. Thierry reigned till the year 737, when an interregnum commenced in Neustria, during the duration of which it was governed by Charles Martel, of Austrasia. Childeric III. began to reign in the year 742 over Neustria. He was deposed in 751, and died in 755, but Pepin became sole King in 747.

A.D. 1059.

In the line of the other generation, Ausbert begat Arnold of the daughter of king Clotaire.

Arnold begat S. Arnulphus, who was afterwards bishop of Metz, and who, before he received the bishopric, begat Anchises.

And Anchises begat king Pepin.

Pepin begat Charlemagne.

And Charles begat the emperor Louis.¹

Louis begat the emperor Charles the Bald.²

He was the father of Charles the Simple.³

Charles the Simple begat Louis.⁴

Louis begat Lothaire.

Lothaire begat Louis,⁵ who was the last king of this dynasty.

Now when Louis was dead, the nobles of France appointed Hugh Capet⁶ to be their Sovereign: he was the son of duke Hugh the Great.

Now Hugh, called Capet, begat three sons,—

The most excellent king Hugh, who died without an heir;

And this most amiable Henry, of whom we are now treating;

And Robert, who was afterwards duke of Burgundy.

Now the aforementioned Henry begat King Philip, who afterwards left the world and became a monk. He begat also Hugh, who in the great troubles at Jerusalem shone most conspicuous among the other nobles; where also he met his death in a glorious combat in the midst of the wars in which he was engaged against the enemies of Christ.

This is the genealogy of the kings and princes of France brought down to this king. And other memorable deeds of his I have seen none.

¹ Louis I. le Débonnaire, who reigned from A.D. 814 to A.D. 840, when the empire was divided between Lothaire I. in the West, and Charles the Bald in France.

² Charles II.

³ Charles III.

⁴ Louis IV. the Stranger.

⁵ Louis V. le Faincant.

⁶ He succeeded Louis V. in the year 987.

OF HENRY, SON OF RICHARD

KING OF THE ROMANS AND EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY, son of Richard, king of the Romans, was a man of the greatest fortitude and probity.

Henry, son
of Richard
King of the
Romans, fl.
A.D. 1264.

For, as also the records of his deeds testify, in company with the first Edward after the Conquest, while he was yet but a prince, he endured many labours and hardships in various quarters of the world, and always conducted himself nobly.

But it is fitting for us to describe his parentage, that we may know from what line this man descended, and how closely allied he was to this our nation.

His father, Richard, was the brother of Henry the Third, king of England, and the son of John, king of the same nation. For the said king of the Romans and the said Henry, king of England, were uterine brothers.

Richard, then, by the gift of his father was made earl¹

¹ The word is Dux, (i. e. Duke,) in the text. Richard was Earl of Cornwall. Edward Plantagenet, eldest son of Edward III., was the first Duke of Cornwall. Richard was born in the year 1209, and was as brave and wise as his father was base and cowardly, and his brother Henry weak. His other marriage, and his death, which took place at Berkhamstead, are thus mentioned in the *Chronicle of England* :—

“In that same ȝere Richard, the Kyngis brothir, weddid the Lady Ysabelle, that was wyf to Gilbert Herl of Gloucester.

“And in this ȝere Richard Emperoure of Almayn deied in this maner. He was let blede for the agu whech he had; and that blod last smet him in paralise, and aftir that he deyed, and lith at Hailes.”

A.D. 1264. of Cornwall, and afterwards by reason of his own uprightness, the world taking notice of it, was elected to be emperor of Rome, about the year of our Lord 1257, on the Sunday before the Annunciation;¹ and in the same year, he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the day of the Ascension.² He married the daughter of the count of Provence, whose name was Sanchia, a woman, as they say, of wonderful beauty and comeliness, by whom he became the father of this illustrious son, strenuous in warfare and in arms.

When he had attained a marriageable age, he espoused the daughter of that noble man, Gaston de Bearn, with whom, before all the other nobles of Aquitaine (which is commonly called Gasconne) none could be compared either for riches or power, or for magnitude and extent of territory.

He assists
Prince Ed-
ward, and
fights at the
battle of
Lewes.

In every conflict in which the prince Edward, the son of king Henry, engaged, this Henry was his inseparable companion. For even in the battle of Lewes, when the barons rose against their king Henry, he was found on his side. In all the wars also and the perils which the said prince encountered, while he remained in Gasconne to defend his father's rights and his own, he never departed from him. For he remembered, I suppose, that saying of the Wise Man:—"The brother who is aided by a brother is as a strong city, and judgments are as the bars of cities."³—He meant to say that the alliance of two affords a twofold consolation, one on the part of fortitude, the other on the part of counsel. For fortitude indeed seems to be made strong in combination, when men proceed wisely and prudently, rather than in the solitude of individual action. Moreover the counsel too of two men is more fitted for the investigation of secret things and the discovery of

¹ March 18.

² Ascension Day fell on the seven-
teenth of May in the year 1257.

³ Proverbs, xviii. 19. (Vulg.)

the truth, than that of one man; and on this account the Wise Man not inaptly compared the fortitude of men, thus bound by the ties of love, to a firm city, and their counsel to firmly wrought bars. A.D. 1264.

Now after these most honourable men had happily completed their labours by establishing the true title to the kingdom, then, having taken counsel, they turned aside to the regions of the Saracens, considering that they should be paying honour to God, if they expelled the enemies of the Cross from the borders of the Faithful. And this they did. For, first, they tarried with the king of Cyprus, and when they had experienced there many dangers by sea, they were rendered thereby more fierce in war for the future. A.D. 1269.
He goes to
the Cru-
sade.

Then this Henry, passing through certain provinces,—for prince Edward had for certain reasons returned to England,—wrought many notable works, to the praise of God, the honour of his country, and the liberation of the people.

For the great Augustin in many of his works testifies that those who wage lawful wars, and for the most righteous causes, are very highly pleasing to God. Wherefore also he says¹ in his epistle to count Boniface, writing on these things:—"Think not that no one can be pleasing to God who does service in the arms of war. They were used by holy David, to whom God granted so high a testimony of His favour. They were used also by many righteous men of that time. They were used by that holy centurion, who said unto our Lord,—‘I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof.’² Think this first when thou art arming thyself unto the battle, that thy courage, even that part of it which is merely bodily strength, is the gift of God. For so wilt thou determine

¹ See S. Augustin's works, (ed. 1569,) col. 837, C.

² S. Luke, vii. 6. Capgrave has omitted in making his quotation the

examples of Cornelius, the soldiers who come to S. John the Baptist, &c., which are given by S. Augustin.

A.D. 1269. not to use the gift of God against the Lord." Such is the exhortation of the Blessed Augustin to warriors,—that they fight with a just title, for a righteous cause, and with a righteous spirit.

Now that this man fought with a righteous spirit is manifest, since, after he had waged war for many years against the Saracens and the enemies of the Faith, at length, in the end of his life, he went to Viterbo, and there laboured not a little for the peace of the church. For at that time there was a schism in the Church, on account of which the nobles of the whole world were there assembled together, in order that they might preserve the seamless robe of Christ from every rent of schism.

A.D. 1271.
He is murdered in a Church at Viterbo.

And it happened that Simon de Montfort and his brother Guy¹ were present at this council, who indeed entertained a hatred of long standing against this benign prince, and against his father, and the king, his uncle. On which account, even by public insults, they heaped calumnies upon him, though falsely, alleging that he had slain their father when the murmuring and the rebellion of the barons was bursting forth in England against the king. Henry himself continually made excuses for the sake of peace, begging that they would postpone those matters for consideration on some future day, because he thought it more proper that they should be discussed among kinsmen and acquaintances, than among those to whose knowledge the plain truth could not possibly come.

On the contrary, those children of iniquity, seeing the place open before them, and the time opportune, on a certain solemn feast, after the celebration of the Mass, while the said Henry, all others having gone out, had given himself to prayer and devotion, and had just commended the cause of the Church to the Lord with fervent prayers, rushing in upon him,—homicides as they were,—basely

¹ They were consins of Henry.

butchered him, and left his body covered with wounds in the holy place. A.D. 1271.

The cardinals were so moved by this murder that they bound the homicides with the chain of excommunication; and afterwards, having been harassed by many misfortunes, they endured the worthy penalty of their crime.

Oh, truly blessed may I call the man who died in a good and holy cause.

For if, as we read in S. Augustin,¹ the cause makes the martyr, why this man should not be called a martyr I cannot tell. It was the cause of the Church in which he laboured; it was a holy place in which he fell; the calumnies which were heaped upon him were false; and all these things he endured with patience. Let those who read these things look to their own opinion about the matter. I for my part have only one opinion about it, that I look upon him as blessed and a Saint.

After the murder, his body was embalmed and sewed up in that way in which bodies which are intended to be carried a considerable distance are embalmed. For these things happened in the year of our Lord, 1271, on the third day of the Ides of May,² and the corpse was carried to London at the end of the same year. And when his heart had been nobly enshrined at Westminster beside the coffer containing the relics of the Blessed Edward, his body was carried on to Hayles³ with all due honours, and was buried there. And there he awaits the glory of the Resurrection, which we have sure hope will come in the end of the world. His burial.

¹ See S. Augustin's works, vol. ii. col. 646.

² May 13.

³ This abbey was founded by his father.

"In the 35 yere [A.D. 1250] the munkis of the Ordre of Sistewis [the

Cistercians] entred here monastery at Hayles, wherch edified Richard, Duk of Cornwaile, the Kyngis brothir, and aftir chosen Emperoure. Thei entred in the Assumpcion of oure Lady."—See the *Chronicle of England*, p. 156.

OF HENRY,
COUNT OF CHAMPAGNE, AND AFTERWARDS KING OF JERUSALEM.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1180.
Henry II.,
Count of
Cham-
pagne.

HENRY, Count of Champagne, belongs, even by a certain title, to our own nation, and is on that account all the more of pleasing memory to us, for that such great men, who have been distinguished for the most excellent characters have either been born in our land, or else pertain to our nation by the right of consanguinity.

It is a trite proverb that "Not the place sanctifies the man, but the man the place." So also do those who have distinguished themselves by military achievements in our land render it of high repute; as well as those who, though flourishing elsewhere, pertained to this kingdom by a certain affinity of blood.

To say nothing of the other things, which we have heard as it were doubtfully concerning this king, this only we must note with brevity, namely, that he was the son of Mary, duchess of Champagne, who was the sister of Philip,¹ king of France, on the father's side, and sister of Richard, king of England, on the mother's side, that so the brave leader, accompanied by a band as well of Frenchmen as of Englishmen might have less cause to fear insidious attacks basely made upon him.

¹ Philip II.

At the time of the great troubles at Jerusalem, this man, acting as a mediator between the king of England and the king of France, was continually the means of settling their disputes, and as a lover of peace, himself never violated the conditions of peace.

A.D. 1190.
He goes to
the Cru-
sade.

Oh, happy time, when the princes of the world, thus united, sought out with such eager minds, the places of our Lord's Passion!

But, after that the said kings had deserted the Holy Places,—for both the king of France returned to his own land, and Richard, king of England, was cast into prison by the duke of Austria,¹ contrary to all laws, seeing that he was a pilgrim, and had been engaged in warfare solely for the sake of Christ,—after all these events the said Henry waited in that land, and took many cities and strongholds.

And after they had encountered many dangers in the field and in the roads, as well as all the risks entailed by weaknesses and poverty, the Holy City of Jerusalem was subdued to the Christians. There assembled together the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers, and unanimously elected this most excellent man to be king of Jerusalem; and when he had married the orphan daughter of the king who had recently died,² they enthroned them both with all due solemnity. And there, fighting for many years against the Saracens he was always victorious, for He gave him courage for Whose sake he fought.

A.D. 1192.
He is made
King of
Jerusalem.

Now I remember to have read in certain chronicles of antiquity, which make mention of the holy fathers dwelling around those places, that, when many of them had become old and weak or infirm, he had caused them to be

His cha-
racter.

¹ Leopold of Austria, who delivered King Richard up to the Emperor Henry VI.

² Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, who succeeded Guy de Lusignan in

the year 1192. He was murdered at Tyre on the twenty-ninth of April in the same year, and was succeeded, as stated above, by Henry of Champagne.

A.D. 1192. conducted to his palace, and taken care of; and they relate that he had often done this with his own hands.

Of the Order of the Knights Templars. And since¹ I have made mention in this place of the Knights of the Temple, it seems good to me, for the solace of my readers, to insert some information about their Order, to the intent that courageous young men may perchance be encouraged to observe the rules of their Order.

Their institution. For we read that in the year of our Lord 1128, in the time of Pope Honorius the Second, and of Stephen, patriarch of Jerusalem, the Order of the Knights of the Temple established the seat of their Order at Jerusalem. But the Order was begun originally in the year of our Lord 1122² by Hugh de Pains and Gaufred de Sancto Aldemaro,³ venerable men, and certain others to the number of nine, who were the first founders. These afterwards bound themselves with a solemn vow and profession, under the hand of the aforesaid patriarch, that they would defend from brigands pilgrim Christians on their way to the Lord's sepulchre, and would guard the public streets, living as Canons Regular in obedience and chastity, and without property of their own, fighting on behalf of the Eternal and Most High King, Jesus Christ our Lord.

Their dress. And there was assigned to them first of all a white habit without any cross; and a rule was given to them which S. Bernard drew up at the request of those Knights. And

¹ The passage beginning with the words "*And since*," and ending with the words "*to retreat*," was evidently added by Capgrave as an afterthought. In the Cottonian copy of the original it forms part of the text, but in the autograph MS. it has been added evidently at a later period in the side and bottom margins. It will be observed that the last sentence of this chapter, (for which there was room in the page itself), begins with the words,—"*Hæc . . . de Militibus interseruius.*"

² The order was founded in the year 1118. The "one thousand" is omitted in both MSS., making the event to have taken place in the year CXXII.

³ This name is very differently given by different writers: Matthew Paris calls him Godefridus de Sancto Andemaro; and Polydore Virgil, Ganfred de S. Alexandro.—But consult Gurtler's "*History of the Templars*," (ed. 1691,) page 10.

afterwards, in a general Council in the time of Pope Eugenius,¹ they affixed to their vestments externally three red crosses, and adopted the standard called "Beauseaunt."² A.D. 1192.
 They wore white robes, indeed, in token of purity, but by the red crosses they signified martyrdom, because, according to the institutes of their rule, they professed to be ready to shed their own blood in defence of the Holy Land, or bravely to extirpate the enemies of the Cross of Christ, and to proceed to war according to the instructions of their general, and that not impetuously, or without order, but prudently. Moreover, they were not permitted to expose their backs in flight, nor, till the word of command had been given, to retreat.

I have inserted these particulars concerning these Knights, because this king, while residing among them, was their prince.

And this is all that has come down to our time concerning the deeds of this man.

¹ Eugenius III.

² This banner would be heraldically described as "per fess, sable and

argent." See the Glossary appended to the Latin Text under "Bausanum."

OF HENRY,
THE BROTHER OF LOUIS KING OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1122.
Henry,
Arch-
bishop of
Sens.

THIS Henry, the brother of Louis, king of France,¹ was entirely converted to God at the preaching of the Blessed Bernard; and, leaving the glory of the world, his friends, and companions, as well as that most noble principality to which by reason of his descent he was heir, he counted all these things as but dung, and, moved by the Holy Ghost, became a monk, remaining a disciple under discipline with his good master at Clairvaux.

At that time the Gallican Church possessed many illustrious men, flourishing within its pale,—Milo of Morigny, and Alvisus of Artois, Godfrey of Langres, Hugh of Auxerre, Jocelyn of Soissons, Geoffrey of Chartres, Alberic of Bourges, and Bernard of Clairvaux.

All these, rising at one and the same time in the firmament of the Church, shed the light of their faith and of their doctrine on the whole world.

But, shining with a certain special brilliance of glory, Bernard produced under his rule many stars of light. Of these one was chosen to the popedom; his name was Eugenius, and it was to him that this same Saint wrote that book of weighty opinions and brilliant discourse, to which he thought good to give the name of "De Consideratione."² Another,

¹ Louis VI.

² See S. Bernard's Works, ed. Mabillon, i. 1006, 8vo. Paris, 1839.

namely this Henry, was, first, elevated to the bishopric of Beauvais, then to the see of Sens. To him, as some say, Bernard wrote that solemn letter entitled, "To Henry of Sens."¹ The epistle begins with these words:—"To my lord, the venerable Henry, Archbishop of Sens," et cetera.

On this point arises a complaint among men of the world, when they see a man well fitted for learning, and of an excellent character, leaving the world, and resting under the easy yoke of the Lord. For they say that such men are necessary to the world, and are more pleasing to God when they spend their life well: moreover they thus either lead or drive others into the paths of good living, better than by devoting their time wholly to God.

I will not, however, conceal my own opinion. In the case of a prince who was so necessary to the people that, in his absence, they would be placed in peril, I consider that he would not be acting rightly if he were to give up his labours, and devote himself to rest and sacred study.

Of this the Blessed Martin is an example: for he, finding himself placed in the midst of the labours and toils of office, longed for Heaven; yet, for the sake of the Lord, and the well-doing of his spiritual children, he wished not to die; wherefore he said:—"Oh, Lord, if I am still necessary to Thy people, I refuse not to encounter toil on their behalf: Thy Will be done!"

So also this prince, while he saw others of his own nation and of his own race well fitted to rule the kingdom, saw also his own inability to manage so great a kingdom, and feared to attempt it, choosing rather to dwell in the House of the Lord as a servant than to rule over others as a lord. And so, growing by degrees from virtue to virtue, he at length made a happy end of his life in the flesh, and fell asleep in the Lord.

¹ Opp. S. Bernardi, i. 1101. "De moribus et officio episcoporum epistola seu tractatus."

OF HENRY,

DUKE OF LANCASTER.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1351. HENRY, duke of Lancaster,¹ from his earliest years excelling in good manners, always having the Lord before his eyes, in the fear of Whom he was brought up in youth, never turned back from his commandments; as a man, he was esteemed temperate in all things; and his language, compact yet ornate, admitted of no kind of adulation or of deceit.

His ex-
ploits in
war.

On deeds of war he was so intent, and so circumspect in their conduct, that he was called "The Father of Soldiers." Whilst he was young, and the love of labour was esteemed pleasurable by him, he eagerly sought the foremost place in all engagements with Pagans, Turks, or Saracens. Hence at first in Prussia, then at Rhodes, next at Cyprus, and many places in the East; then passing over Granada and

¹ Henry Plantagenet, the first Duke of Lancaster, the grandfather of King Henry IV. He was the fourth Earl of Lancaster, being the son and heir of Henry Plantagenet, (brother and heir of Thomas Plantagenet, who had been beheaded and attainted in the year 1321,) who was restored in blood and honours in 1327. He was summoned to Parliament in 9 Edward III. 1335, as "Henricus de Lancastre." During his father's lifetime (*viz.* in the year

1337) he was created Earl of Derby. On the death of his father in 1345, he succeeded to the earldom of Lancaster. In 1349 he was created Earl of Lincoln; and in 1351, Duke of Lancaster. He died in 1361, without male issue, but leaving two daughters, one of whom, Maud, though twice married, died without issue: her sister married John of Gaunt, and through her he obtained all the honours of her father.

parts of Spain, he either put to flight, or slew those who held in contempt the Cross of Christ and Christ Himself. And in these wars such was his glory and renown, that other young men of the world, the sons of French and German dukes and lords, were wont to wage war under his guidance and his banner. For by reason of the number of his forces, he was considered to be eminently the father of youths under instruction. A.D. 1351.

In mature age, from being only earl of Derby, he was created duke of Lancaster. He is made Duke.

In the cismontane regions, and especially in the wars which sprung up between the kings of England and France, he was reputed the most valiant of warriors. For now amid the troops and legions of his king, now separated from him, wherever he perceived the arduous and grave perils of war were collecting together, to those kingdoms he led his forces and waged war. As companions in arms he had with him, for the most part these noble earls:—The earl of Northampton,¹ the earl of Suffolk,² the earl of Salisbury,³ and the earl of Stafford.⁴

¹ William de Bohun, the third son of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. He was created Earl of Northampton in the year 1337.

² Robert de Ufford, the second Baron of that name, was created Earl of Suffolk in the year 1337.

³ William de Montacute, the fourth Baron of that name, was created Earl of Salisbury in the year 1337.

⁴ Ralph de Stafford, son and heir of Edmund de Stafford, ninth Baron of that name. He was created Earl of Stafford in the year 1351.—It will be observed that these four noblemen, who are recorded to have been the constant companions of Henry of Lancaster, all received their titles at the same time with him, the first four when he was created Earl of

Derby in 1337; the last when he was created Duke of Lancaster. These creations are thus recorded in the *Chronicle of England*:—

“In the X. ðere, the Kyng, [Edward III.] aftir the deth of his brothir, Jon Eltham, wech was Erl of Corwayle, mad Edward, his sone, Duke of Cornwaile and Erl of Chestir. And in that same tyme he mad sex Erles, Herry of Lancastir the yonger, Erl of Derby; William Mountagew, Erl of Salesbury; and Hewe Awdle, Erl of Glouceter; William Clynton, Erl of Huntyngdonne; Robert Ufford, Erl of Suffolk; and the sext is not now in mende.” [This “sext” was William, son of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, created Earl of Northampton.]

A.D. 1351.

When the king of England was freed from every warlike event, this duke of Lancaster not the less always retained as stipendiaries two hundred of the most daring soldiers, among whom the most celebrated were Thomas of Ufford, the son of the earl of Suffolk, Thomas Engayn,¹ and Thomas Banester.

His doings
in France.

This most valiant duke often terrified the kings of France, vanquished dukes, routed soldiery, and, engaging in many warlike conflicts, conquered many provinces, triumphed over cities, subdued by his might towns and castles,² and destroyed rebels.

In the presence of the king of France he accused the duke of Brunswick of fraud and treason, and in the city of Paris encountering him in a duel, he happily came off the victor.

When Bretagne was in rebellion against its lord, John de Montfort, not without great peril, he subdued and restored it to the said duke. And Charles de Blois, who had with hostile purpose invaded that land, he took and led captive to England, with many other prisoners of war.

And concerning him, thus wrote Bridlyngton in his prophetic verses:—

“Lo, Lancaster in arms, like glittering star,
Shall come, a salve to the oppress'd, and like
A harrow, he shall cleave the soil; and then
Make one the cross, and strengthen well the bull.”³

“The same þere Herry, Erl of Derby, was made Duke of Lancaster. And that same tyme Raf Stafford was mad Erl of Stafford.”

¹ John de Engaine, the son of Nicholas Engaine (son of John de Engaine, the last Baron, who died, without issue, in the year 1322). He was summoned to Parliament in the year 1342.

² “This þere [1345] Herry of Lancaster, in the cuntre of Gyan, took a strong cyte thei clepe Brigerak [Bergerae], and other strengthis and townes in noumyr LVI.”—*Chronicle of England*, p. 211.

³ See the “Carmen Vaticinale” of John Bridlyngton, MS. Bodley, Digby, 168, fol. 7, b, line 7.

This man also, in that great invasion of France, which A.D. 1351. took place in the time of Edward, was the leader of the war, and to his will the king committed all things. Whence also the same Bridlyngton, speaking of king Edward, of prince Edward, and of the said Henry, says:—

“Three comrades always powerful in arms.”¹

At another time it is recorded that he was sent to the Pope to treat for peace between the realms of England and France. His companions on his journey were the earl of Arundel,² William Bateman, bishop of Norwich,³ and Master Michael de Northburgh,⁴ afterwards bishop of London. But this man being supereminently acceptable to the Pope and cardinals, obtained almost whatever he desired.⁵

As he was just in all things, he sought nothing that was

¹ See MS. Bodley, Digby, fol. 9, *b*, line 34.

² Richard Fitz-Alan. He was son and heir of Edmund Fitz-Alan, (who had been beheaded and attainted in the year 1326,) and was restored in blood and honours in the year 1330.

³ William Bateman was Archdeacon of Norwich before he was made Bishop. He held the see from January 1344 to January 1354.

⁴ He was then Prebendary of S. Paul's. He was made Bishop of London in 1354, and died in 1361.

⁵ However pleased Innocent VI. may have been with the Duke of Lancaster, the negotiations were anything but satisfactory, and in his *Chronicle of England* Capgrave gives us a very different account of them (see page 215):—

“In the XXVIII. ȝere was mad acord be the Kyngis of Frauns and Ynglond, and confermed with othis, but not with scles, undir this forme,—That the Kyng of Ynglond schuld

have pesibly al his londes which the Kyng of Frauns had unwritely occupied: but he must first renounce alle the rite and the chalenge which he mad to the crowne of Frauns. Upon this were sent solempne embassiatouris of the Kyngis party of Ynglond to the Court of Rome,—Herry, Duk of Lancastir, Richard, Erl of Arundel; William, Biscop of Norwich, and Gy Brian, Knyte. But whan thei come thidir, with fraude of the courtesanes, which were comensalis with the Pope, thei were illuded. Anon as the Kyng herd this, he went into Frauns, and began to distroye the cuntre.”

It should be remembered, however, that the “*Henries*” were written for Henry VI., and so Capgrave is throughout anxious to say the best he can for the House of Lancaster, whereas the “*Chronicle*” was written for Edward IV., when the author had learned to look upon the succession of Henry IV. as an “intrusion.”

A.D. 1351. opposed to justice; and, since that which is just ought not to be withheld in the case of a man of such holiness, therefore we have said that he obtained whatever he willed.

His virtues. Towards the end of his days, when he had ceased from warfare, dedicating his services to Christ alone, he founded many monasteries, erected many churches, established hospitals, and engaging in numerous works of piety, became illustrious as Tobias.¹ Occupied beyond measure in prayers, his lips were never seen to pause from colloquies divine and holy exercises. Abstinence he esteemed as most precious to himself. For he knew that gluttony is the mother of vice, but a step-dame unto virtue; therefore, lest he should be unduly occupied with his household affairs, he thought it better to apply to himself that saying of Augustin's:—"We should need less than we have."

He gave alms without ceasing. His eyes could not behold a poor person, and pass him unrelieved. The causes of the poor and of widows he was wont to hear personally, and to deal with them according to the will of God and a right conscience. Beneath a somewhat splendid and, according to the fashion of this kingdom, rich apparel, he wore a concealed hair-cloth, and thus effectually compelled the flesh to be subservient to the spirit.

His book
called
"Mercy
Gra-
mercy."

In the time of his infirmity, he composed a book of devotion, the title of which is "Mercy Gramercy;" wherein, as in some work of confession, he recalled to memory all his deeds, seeking pardon from God for his faults; and this applies to that portion of the book which is entitled "Concerning Pity." But in the other part, which consists of acts of thanksgiving, he gives thanks to God for all the prosperity which had been bestowed on him.

A.D. 1361. After a long life he died most happily at Leicester, on
His death. the thirteenth day of the month of March, in the year of

¹ Tobit, xiv. 2.

our Lord 1361, and was buried in the new monastery, which he himself had founded. A.D. 1361.

In the annals of the chapel of Walsingham, it is recorded that this Henry gave unto the Blessed Virgin the urn, with other gifts, on which he had expended about four hundred marks.

And in the same place also it is written that the father of this Henry, who was earl of Lancaster, and not duke, offered to the Blessed Virgin a picture of the salutation of the angel, with precious stones, also of the value, according to some persons' estimation, of four hundred marks.

This Henry left behind him¹ two noble daughters: one was married to William,² duke of Holland and Zealand; the other to John of Gaunt, who was at that time earl of Richmond.³ And through this illustrious lady the same John subsequently became duke of Lancaster. Of her nuptials I speak not; but they took place at Reading, and were celebrated about the year of our Lord 1359, the lord Robert, bishop of Salisbury,⁴ bestowing his benediction. And in honour of the modern Diana tournaments were held continuously for several days, in the first place at Reading, and afterwards at London. A.D. 1359.

From this lady Blanche and the said duke descended the most invincible king Henry the Fourth; whose soul rest in Abraham's bosom with his forefathers throughout eternity! Amen.

¹ The passage beginning with the words "In the annals" (*In annua-libus*), and ending at this place with the words "*Hic post se*," was added at a later period in the autograph MS., in the margin at the bottom of the page.

² William V.

³ He was the fourth son of King Edward III., and was created Duke of Lancaster in 1362, and Duke of Aquitaine in 1389. He died in 1399.

⁴ Robert Wyvill. He succeeded Roger de Martival in 1330, and died in 1375.

OF HENRY DE BOHUN,
EARL OF HEREFORD.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1199. HENRY, of virtuous memory, is reported to have been a valiant soldier in arms, and to have been strong in the faith.
Henry de Bohun,
Earl of Hereford.

But being above all things zealous of pilgrimages to the Holy Places, he was a devout searcher for sacred relics.

Not only by natural lineage, but also of the king's good pleasure, he was made earl of Hereford.¹ For about the year of our Lord 1220,² under Henry the Third, king of

¹ The first Earl of Hereford was William Fitz-Osborne, who was created by the Conqueror: he died in 1070, and was succeeded by his third son, Robert de Britolio, on whose death the title became extinct. It was revived in the year 1140, in the person of Milo of Gloucester, who died in 1143, and was succeeded by his son and heir Roger, who died in 1154 without issue, and was succeeded by his brother, Walter de Hereford. He also died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, who, again, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Mabell, who also died without issue, and the title became extinct. In the year 1199 it was revived (*ex beneplacito regis*) in the person of Henry de Bohun, here commemorated, who was entitled (*naturali prosapia*) to the dignity.

He was the son and heir of Humphrey de Bohun, the eldest son of Humphrey de Bohun by Margery, the daughter of Milo de Gloucester (mentioned above as first Earl of this line) who was, of course, sister and coheirress to the last four earls. He died in the year 1220, and was succeeded by his son and heir Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex. Roger de Wendover mentions the excommunication of Henry de Bohun, see his *Flores Historiarum*, (edit. 1842,) iii. 355, and also (iv. 23) his having been taken prisoner at the siege of Lincoln, together with Saier de Quincy, mentioned below, and other lords.

² "*Circa annum Domini M.CCXX. . . . floruit.*"—Capgrave says *circa*; for 1220 was the year of his death.

England, and Honorius the Third, Pope of Rome, he was held in great esteem. Justly, indeed, was he a third in fellowship with them, because, as we have heard, he frequently offered himself a buckler for the Faith, and for the peace of the Church. A.D. 1199.

For, in the time of John, king of the English, opposing himself to the haughty insolence¹ of that king, he would have been a son of death, if he had not been defended by the right hand of the Lord, beneath Whose protection the righteous are sheltered. And when the General Interdict prevailed over this our land so many years, he prayed God with many sighs that he would not let him depart from this life until peace should have been restored unto the Church. The good man obtained what he asked. And hence, when the churches were opened, he broke forth into such joy that he vowed that, when opportune occasion might come, he would visit the Holy Places, that is to say, the Sepulchre of the Lord, and other holy monuments in the city of Jerusalem. He opposes the tyranny of John.

We read of nothing more concerning him, except that afterwards, taking with him Saier de Quincy,² earl of Winchester, he journeyed to Jerusalem, never to return. His Pilgrimage.

For by the favour of the most merciful Lord, he was taken from the earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem, where is the everlasting vision; where, according to the words of the Saviour, whosoever shall go in or out shall find most pleasant pastures.³ A.D. 1220.

Unto this blessed country our pilgrims have attained, and earnestly praying for us whom they have left behind them, before the presence of the Lamb cry, saying: "O Lord, in Thy good pleasure, graciously cause that the walls of Jerusalem may be built."⁴

¹ He was one of the twenty-five Barons who were chosen to compel King John to observe the provisions of Magna Charta.

² Saier de Quincy was the first Earl of Winchester, created in the

year 1210. He also was one of the twenty-five Barons appointed to compel the observance of Magna Charta. He died in the year 1219.

³ S. John, x. 9.

⁴ Psalm li. 18.

OF HENRY DE BEAUMONT.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1309.
Henry de
Beaumont.

THIS HENRY,¹ agreeably to the quality of his name, is said to have been a man of fervent character, and to have been easily excited. But in keeping his promises there was none more faithful; in counsel there was none more secret; and wherever danger threatened there was none more firm. In warfare, under king Edward the Third, enduring labours innumerable, he was never seen to act otherwise than as a valiant soldier should act. Neither when excited to wrath did he do any wrong, nor when allured by love would he proceed beyond the truth.

A.D. 1332.
He assists
Edward
Baliol.

About the time in which he was blooming in the vigour of youth, that is to say, about the year of our Lord 1332, there came a certain lord Edward de Baliol to king Edward in England, asserting that he had an hereditary right in the kingdom of Scotland. To him this Henry de Beaumont, the earl of Athol,² lord Richard Talbot,³ and many other nobles adhered, asserting that they also had a

¹ Henry de Beaumont, styled in 1307 "*Consanguineus Regis*," was summoned to Parliament from the fourth of March, 2 Edw. II., 1309, to the twentieth of October, 6 Edw. III., 1332, as a Baron; and from the twenty-second of January, 7 Edw. III., 1334, to the sixteenth of November, 1339, (13 Edw. III.) as *Henricus de Bello Monte* (i.e. Beau-

mont), Comes de Boghan, on account of his marriage with Alice, daughter and heiress of Alexander Comin, Earl of Buchan.

² His name was David.

³ Richard Talbot was the eighth Baron of that name. He succeeded his father Gilbert in the year 1331, and died in the year 1356.

right to lands and possessions in the said kingdom, either A.D. 1332.
by reason of hereditary right, or through their wives. All these, therefore, with one mind hastened to king Edward, expressing to him their right, and besought from his highness that he would graciously permit them to pass through England into the land of Scotland, for the recovery of their inheritance, or inheritances. But the lord king restrained them from this thing, saying that it was not becoming to his regal majesty that he should allow his brother the king of Scotland to be harassed either by himself or by his subjects. For the king of Scotland, David de Bruce,¹ had received as his consort a sister of king Edward.² Yet this same king allowed them to enter Scotland by sea; and, for the special regard which he had towards the said Henry, he would not impede them from their right.

Therefore these three congregating together entered Scotland by sea; and it was near the abbey of Dunfermline that they strove to invade the shores of that land. But the Scots, observing these things, pre-occupied the shores, and made a manful resistance; which the said Henry perceived, and seizing the shore with a few infantry, the others following, displayed to them such daring that, the Scots being put to flight, the whole people advanced into that land.

The battle
of Dun-
fermline.

And when they remained there some days, there came against them in combat, as was estimated, about forty thousand men, whom our troops, by God's protection, and having the companionship of a good cause, put to flight, or else slew. Yet, the number of our forces was scarcely two thousand.

If to any one it should appear incredible that by so few so many should have been put to flight and slain, let him read in that passage of Deuteronomy,³ by what means one

¹ David II.

² He had married, in 1329, Joan, second daughter of King Edward II. His conduct to her was so base that

a separation became necessary; and she died in the court of her brother in 1362.

³ Deuteronomy, xxxii. 30.

A.D. 1332. man chased a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight; and he will no longer wonder that the many should be subdued by the few to whom God is propitious and the Truth is friendly.

Finally, in this battle, as the same Henry used to relate, more were slain by the Scots themselves than by the English. For rushing forward on each other, each crushed his neighbour, and on every one fallen there fell a second, and then a third fell, and those who were behind pressing forward and hastening to the fight, the whole army became a heap of slain.¹

These are what I have been able to discover on both sides concerning the deeds of this Henry.

But whether these honoured men then acquired their inheritance, either in part or wholly, is as yet unknown to me; nor do I apprehend that it appertains much to this work, since I have undertaken to commemorate the memory of the Illustrious Henries, and chief among these it delights me to leave a record of those of the name of Beaumont, since I am their servant, and bound to this race by special affection.²

¹ These events are thus described in the *Chronicle of England*:—

“In the V. ȝere of Edward cam into Ynglond a man thei cleped Edward de Baliol, pretending to have rite to the crowne of Scotland. And anon drow onto him Herry Vermonnt [Beaumont], David, Erl of Asseles, Gilbert Umfrevile, Richard Talbot, and many; for thei had rite to grete possessiones in Scotland, ethir be hem self, or be her wyves. These alle cam to the Kyng, and asked leve to enter Scotland, goyng thorw his lond. The Kyng wold gyve hem no leve, because David, Kyng of Scottis, had weddid his sistrir. Than gote thei schippis, and took the se aboute the feste of Seynt

Laurens, [August 10,] and loded fast by the Abbey Downfermelyn, where thei fond grete resistens of Scottis; but a few of oure archeres occupied the Scottis, til oure armed men were loded.

“Sone aftir was there a grete bataile in a place thei clepe Gledesmore [Gladsmuir], where too thousand Englischmen had victorie ovir XL thousand Scottis. Alle men seide it was Goddis hande, and not mannes hand. For the Scottis were so many, and Englisch so fewe, that ech of hem bar down othir.”

² The Beaumonts had large possessions in Norfolk. See Dugd. Baron., ii. 54.

I have read that at the siege of Berwick this man by his great zeal obtained for himself renown, now stoutly contending in the water and now on land.

A.D. 1333.
Henry present at the
Siege of
Berwick.

It is further stated¹ concerning this magnificent hero, sprung from the royal family of France, and from the stock of Saint Louis the King, as one of the younger sons far removed from regal inheritance by reason of numerous elders, that he left the land of France, and sought glory for himself by the exercise of arms, and in the events of war. And first in Italy, progressing notably in the wars of the Church, and afterwards in the Scottish wars under Edward the Third, having been especially summoned by him, manfully contending he is recorded to have conducted himself most nobly.

At length, through the king's mediation, he married a certain lady and great heiress, in the county of Lincoln, whose principal domain, I believe, the inhabitants say is Folkingham.² Thus established in this land, he left behind him a noble progeny.

He was buried in an abbey of the Cistercian order, which is called Vauday.³

¹ The whole of the passage extending from the words "It is further stated," (*Dicitur etiam*.) to the words "Vauday," was added in the auto-

graph MS. at a later period, in the margin at the bottom of the page.

² See Dugd. Baron. ii. 52.

³ See Tanner Not. Monast. p. 265.

OF HENRY LE DESPENSER,
BISHOP OF NORWICH.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1370.
Henry le
Despenser.

THIS HENRY¹ then was born of the race of Despensers; a soldier valorous in all things, and who in the vigour of youth seemed to thirst after warfare only. And as at that time England was enjoying perfect peace, he, hastening to Rome, and there stoutly contending for the apostolic right, by vengeful might crushed the rebels against the Church.²

Is made
Bishop of
Norwich.

And after he had persisted in this warfare for many years, the church at Norwich³ becoming vacant, the Pope conferred it on this hero, commending him to the king in a most special letter.

Having thus obtained pontifical rank, for many years he ruled his people in peace, and retained the affections of all beneath his sway. He was liberal in giving, cheerful in administering consolation; and, becoming the best of fathers for all the poor, he by his affection won their good wishes. In an uproar of the people, when throughout England ribalds were madly raging, he did not limit himself to any half-measures. Whilst lords, and knights, and

¹ Surnamed "The Warlike."

² "In this same tyme was Ser Herry Spenser a grete werrioure in Ytaile, or the tyme that he was promoted: and Ser Jon Haukwood, a mervelous man of armes, which led in Itale a grete company clepit 'The

White Felauchip.' His dedis wold ask a special tretys." — *Chronicle of England*, page 266.

³ He became Bishop of Norwich on the third of April, 1370, and died on the twenty-third of August, 1406.

others of the nobility, were hiding themselves for fear, he A.D. 1370.
went forth openly.

For he had heard, whilst he was with the king in the A.D. 1381.
neighbourhood of London, that certain men of basest con- He is in-
dition in his flock had risen up in rebellion, and had as- strumental
sumed to themselves titles of authority; and that, more- in quelling
over, they were riding about with a great mob, making the sedition
search for men of station, that they might be put to death. of Litster
Of whom the principal were these,—Jack Litster, and and others
three others, called Sceth, Trunch, and Cubith. The pious
pastor, therefore, taking pity on his flock, torn as it was
by the gnawings of so many wolves, left London, and came,
as he was bound, to the succour of his people.

And, first, finding certain of this wicked mob at Cambridge, he slew some, imprisoned others, and others he sent back to their homes, after taking their oath that thenceforth they would never turn out for like purposes. Afterwards when he came to Icklingham, at a spot where a mill-house somewhat narrowed the road-way, between Cambridge and Thetford, he met lord Thomas de Morley¹ and another, a knight, named Brewes.² And they here delivered up to him the three aforesaid malefactors, Sceth, Trunch, and Cubith. For they themselves did not dare to put them to death without special command from the king. But this most excellent man, having the zeal of Phineas in his breast, and taking into consideration the peril of the people, led them with him to Wymondham, where, after they had been confessed, he caused them to be beheaded. In that same place many malefactors remained, who, terrified by dread of death, did not not dare to proceed further in their insurrection.³

¹ Thomas de Morley was the fourth Baron of that name. He succeeded his father in the year 1381, and died in 1417.

² Sir John Brewes.

³ In the bottom margin of the page

of the autograph MS. containing this account, a sentence, of which the following is a translation, has been entered by another and a later hand. " . . . coming to Bedewita, which we now call the meadow of the Blessed

A.D. 1381.
John the
Litster.

The good pastor, coming to the principal city of his diocese, namely to Norwich, saw and bewailed the destruction of houses and places made by the aforesaid furious people while they were thus excited. For in his absence, one of their principal leaders, named Jack Litster, and a large multitude associated with him, entered the city against the will of the citizens, and committed many horrid deeds, especially in the destruction of houses and places in which certain nobles lived who were friends of the law or of the king.

Wat the
Tyler.

In a similar manner, with a mob aiding him, a ribald fellow from Kent, named Wat Tyler, acted in the city of London.

But this Henry, a good bishop and pastor, who seeing the wolf, fled not, but exposed himself to danger, enquired of the citizens where the head of all the evil and of all this infamy might be found. And they said that he was wandering about the neighbourhood of Walsham-market, and of Gimingham, where he had the largest number of rustics and ribald fellows. Thereupon the bishop commanded his domestics to transfer themselves to those parts, and with them he himself was always foremost. For the bishop had said to those who were with him: "It is better that one evil and wicked man should die, than that the whole people perish, for they, taking license from him, commit assaults and robberies, killing those who are unconscious of crime."

And saying this he came to the town called Felmingham, where the said ringleader had a mansion. And those who

Edward, they slew John Cavendish, and the Prior of the Monastery; afterwards, however, having been captured by the instrumentality of this Spenser, they paid the penalty of their crimes." The first word, and the reference to the part of the text to which this note refers, have

been erased. The facts alluded to are thus given in the *Chronicle of England*:—"Anothir capteyn was there fast be Bury, thei cleped Jon Wraw, a preest. He heded the Abbot of Bury; and, fast be Bury, he killid the principal justise, Jon Caundisch."—See page 237.

resided there, being questioned where he was, said that on the previous day he was at Thorp-market, where he had caused it to be publicly proclaimed that all who desired the welfare of the kingdom and of the community should follow him to Walsham; where he intended, as he said, to defend the people against the tyranny of the approaching bishop by military force. And on this, all the able-bodied of the adjacent villages had followed him, and were there. To his informant the bishop said:—"Blessed be thou, my son, since thou hast not mingled with wicked men, nor with a mischievous people."

And thus hastening on to Walsham, he found the openings of the roads blocked with timbers, and towers, and other impediments. But by the good management of the bishop, and of other men who had assembled there, the whole people surrendered, rejoicing that they might withdraw in peace. Jack Litster himself, leaping over a wall, hid himself in a corn-field. And one of the people, perceiving this, announced it to the bishop. The traitor was sought and found; he was captured and beheaded; and, divided into four parts, he was sent through the country to Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn, and to the site of his mansion; that rebels and insurgents against the peace might learn by what end they will finish their career.

These are the acts of this venerable bishop.

And after these things, by command of the Pope, and signed with the Cross against schismatics in Flanders, he left there signs of desolation. And more he would have done, had he not been baulked by the fraud and deception of certain knights, Elmham and Tryvet.¹ For he was

A.D. 1381.

Capture of
Litster.

A.D. 1383.

Le Despen-
ser's expe-
dition into
Flanders.

¹ "In the sevenet ȝere, in the month of March, in the Parlement at London, Ser Herry Spenser, Bisshop of Norwich, was marked with the Cros ageyn the scismatikes of Frauns and of Flandres, with grete auctorite of Urbane the Sexte. And

aboute myd May he went into Flaundres with myty hand, and with a saute he took Gravening; and, after that, Dunkirk, Neuport, and many othir. And in VIII. Kalende of Juli he faughte with XXX. thousand scismatikes; he having but V. thou-

A.D. 1383. ever ready to punish evil-doers: in his time no heretic could dwell among the people. Nor in his days did perjurers in matters of quest and assize prevail as now; for he diligently sought them out and severely punished them.

If to any one it should be doubtful whether it be lawful for a bishop or other ecclesiastic in certain cases to bear arms, and incite the people to war, and since many make this a matter of conscience, I quote here the argument of the Decretal, Question 8, "*Si in morte*";¹ where, beneath the paragraph is thus written:—You see that Pope Nicholas prohibits bishops from being occupied in worldly warfare, and not even against sea pirates does he permit them to engage in conflict.—How then does Pope Leo leave the city against the Saracens, and, that he might drive them far from the shore, convoke the people in all directions, and personally avenge the wrongs of his subjects?—And how does Gregory invite soldiers to arms?—But it is to be observed that certain bishops are content with only the Levites' portion, who, as being numbered only in the service of God, so accept God Himself only as their heri-

sand: where he killid sevene thousand of Frenschmen, Fleminges, and Britones; and of his hooste were ded but sevene. Than beseged he the town of Ypris; and there was he deceyved and rebuked be the covetise of too knytes, Ser William Elman, and Ser Thomas Tryvet.

"In this tyme the Kyng of Frauns besegid the town of Burburgh, in wech were that tyme the Lord Bemound, Thomas Trivet, William Elman, and William Faringdoune, knytes; and aftir many sawtes, wech availed not, the Kyng profered hem this issew, that thei, with here servauntis and her hors, and swech tresore as thei wold cary oute of the town, schuld passe frely, up condiccion, that thei schuld streight go to Ynglond: and to this profir

thei obeyid, and cam hom to Yngland. In the same forme the Kyng of Frauns acordid with the bischop; and he cam hom fro Gravenyng: but first he destroyed the town.

"In this same tyme was ordeyned by the Kyng of Frauns a grete navy, to lette hem that were sent be the Kyng of Ynglond to help the bischop of Norwich. And thei of Dertemouthe and Portesmouthed destroyed alle that hoost, save IX. men. Than the vyntage of Ynglond took a othir felauchip, where thei had a thousand tunne wyn and V. hundred."—See the *Chronicle of England*, page 238.

¹ See "Gratian. Decret. Libri Quinque," ed. Rom. 1726, page 479.

tage, saying:—"The Lord is the portion of my inheritance."¹ To such men there is, in truth, nothing in common with the princes of this world, because they entirely reject all temporal benefits, lest by occasion of them they should become obnoxious to the laws of their rulers. To such there is no occasion left of occupation in worldly warfare, because, whilst they live on tenths and first-fruits, as children of the Most High King, they are in every realm free from all earthly exactions, so that they may be able to say:—"The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in Me."²

A.D. 1383.

But there are others who, not content with tenths and first-fruits, possess manors, townships, castles, and cities; from which tributes are due unto Cæsar, unless by reason of imperial dignity they have deserved immunity from such. To such as these it is said by the Lord:—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."³ To whom also the apostle saith:—"Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute; custom to whom custom."⁴ And a certain doctor thus compendiously declares this argument, saying:—"Those therefore who live only on alms and tenths are prohibited from taking part in battles, because with them there is nothing in common with princes. But those who hold of princes provinces and regalia of that kind, are permitted to take part in battles, not only against Pagans or Saracens, but even against false Christians oppressing others. But on no account is it allowed to any clergyman constituted in holy orders to take arms with his own hand."

These things are said in excuse, or rather in confirmation, of the deeds of this venerable bishop; who warred solely against schismatics and perturbers of the peace, or enemies of the Faith.

He died on the vigil of Saint Bartholomew,⁵ in the year

A.D. 1406.
Death of
Bishop le
Despenser.

¹ Psalm xvi. 5.

² S. John, xiv. 30.

³ S. Mark, xii. 17.

⁴ Romans, xiii. 7.

⁵ August 23.

A.D. 1406. 1406, and was buried at Norwich. His epitaph¹ is as follows :—

“Henry, Le Spenser’s son,—a soldier dear,
 A holy Bishop,—lies entombéd here :
 Men call him scion of the royal tree.
 He, champion of the Church, made schism flee,
 Condemn’d the Lollards,—of his own accord
 Put traitors and insurgents to the sword.
 Breathes the good Pastor’s spirit up to Heaven,
 Saying,—‘The earth is God’s!’—To him was given
 On the eve of Bartholomew the Blest
 To go to Christ, our King, and share His Rest.”²

¹ The passage beginning “His Epitaph,” (*Cujus Epitaphium*), and ending with the chapter, was added at a later period in the autograph

MS. in the margin and along the bottom of the page.

² The Latin text of this Life of Bishop Henry le Despenser is printed in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.

OF HENRY,

ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON.

CHAPTER X.

HENRY, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, was a man of praiseworthy life and brilliant genius, as his writings manifest. In what time he lived, or where promoted, or what were the opinions which he entertained concerning the end of the world, we have collected, amongst other writers, from various passages scattered here and there in his own Chronicle.

A.D. 1135.

Henry,
Archdeacon of
Huntingdon.

As to the time in which he wrote, he testifies himself in the eighth book, which is entitled “De Summitatibus Rerum,” wherein he says:—“This is the year which includes the date of the writer, namely the thirty-fifth year¹ of the reign of Henry² the glorious and invincible king of the English: the sixty-ninth year from the coming of that most excellent race, the Normans, in our time into England: the two thousand two hundred and sixty-fifth year from the arrival of the Britons into this same island; the five thousand three hundred and thirty-sixth year from the beginning of the world.”³

¹ A.D. 1135.² Henry I.³ The Latin text of this passage has been collated with the MS. Reg., 13 B. VI., Brit. Mus., which adds here,—“the year from the beginning of the world five thousand three

hundred and seventeen: the year of Grace one thousand one hundred and thirty-five. This, therefore, is the year from which the writer of the present history wishes his age to be computed by future generations.”

A. D. 1135.

And speaking of his promotion farther on in the same book, in a letter to Walter, he says:—"Remigius, bishop of Lincoln,¹ appointed seven archdeacons to the seven provinces over which he bore rule: Richard, archdeacon of Lincoln, to whom succeeded Albert the Lombard; to whom succeeded Robert of Bayeux,² and now Robert the younger, the most wealthy of all archdeacons who are in England; to Cambridge, and Huntingdon, and Hereford, Nicholas, than whom was no one of more handsome person, nor in manners was he very dissimilar from his person. About the time of his departure, when the province of Cambridge was severed from our bishopric, and had received a new bishop, I myself succeeded as archdeacon to the two remaining provinces." These things he mentions concerning his promotion under Remigius, bishop of Lincoln.

Extract
from the
Chapter
"De Sum-
matibus
Rerum."

And below, in the same book, towards the end, giving his opinion concerning the end of the world, he says:—"To you therefore I now speak, who may be living in about the thirty-fifth year of the third millenary, if it should happen, as my soul exceedingly desires, that this my little book should come into your hands, I beseech that you pray for God's inconceivable compassion on behalf of me miserable; and so for you also shall pray, and shall obtain, those who shall be walking with God in the fourth or fifth millenary, if the generation of mortal men shall be so long extended. Does any one ask,—'Why speak of successive millenaries, when on us the ends of the age are come, and, daily looking forward, we expect the end of the world?' To this I answer: 'The end of the world is, for thee, that day on which thou shalt die. But Christ is the end of the ages, Who did not choose the first part of an

¹ Remigius de Feschamp. He was translated to Lincoln from Dorchester in the year 1072, and died in 1092. He was canonized.

² He is called William of Bayeux in Le Neve. See Hardy's Edition.

age for His Advent, but the last, in which the Law and the Prophets might be accomplished; and things signifying, by the Advent of Him the Signified.' But, because of the duration of times no one but the Father of all hath knowledge, that which I have written is according to my own calculation, which long since I extracted from Herbert, bishop of Norwich,¹ a most learned man. For he used to speak in accordance with my calculation, which I can balance by argument. The truth will endure much longer than the figure; the light than the shadow; the things signified longer in the dispensation of grace than in that of the law. And if the figure and the shadow, preceding and signifying the Grace of Christ, have been extended over a period of five thousand years, how much longer the Light of Christ and the Grace of Christ! For we have already seen the calculation of those persons brought to nought who supposed that the world would last only a thousand years after the passion of our Lord, because of Christ's having come in the last age.

A.D. 1135.
Extract
from the
Chapter
"De Sum-
mitatibus
Rerum."

"Neither is the opinion of the Jews to be followed. For they, after the lapse of six thousand years, calculating their number from the beginning of the world, assert that their Sabbath is to be begun in the seventh millenary, as also their return into their own land, and their dominion over the whole world; affirming, moreover, that the end of the

¹ Herbert de Losinga, who had formerly been Abbot of Ramsey and Lord Chancellor. In the year 1091 he was made Bishop of Thetford, from which place he removed the See to Norwich in 1094. Capgrave does not give so flattering an account of him in his *Chronicle of England*:—

"In this tyme Herbert Losinga, sumtyme Abbot of Ramsey, but thanne Bischop of Thetforth, sowyd a gret seed of Symonie in Ynglond, for he boutte his benefice of the Kyng William for a grete summe. But

whan his ȝong dayes were go, he went to Rome, and gat licens to remeve his sete to Norwich, where that he foundid a worchipful monasteri of his owne gode at Norwich, and a othir of the Order of Clyone at Thetforth. He was wone to sey, 'I entred evel; but with the grace of God I schal wel go owte.' And that word of Jerom wold he ofte reherse, 'We erred whan we were ȝong: lete us amende it in oure age.'"

A.D. 1135. whole world will take place a very short time after that. But rather do we believe that the truth so often promised will much longer endure, through the gift of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Such is the opinion of this venerable man concerning the end of the world. And if any one shall desire to see other of his sayings, let him hasten to the perusal of the book¹ which he compiled from the Chronicles.

¹ No one can say that Capgrave gave advice to others which he did not follow himself, at least in this particular. In his life of Henry I.

he has drawn largely indeed from Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle, as may be seen at a glance.

OF HENRY,

ARCHDEACON¹ OF GHENT.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY OF GHENT, of what condition he was, and of what kind was his life, has not as yet come to the knowledge of very many. There are some who say that he was so called because he was born in Ghent, and so the place of his nativity passed into a perpetual memorial. Others, again, say that he was archdeacon in that place, and derived his cognomen from his office.

A.D. 1279.

Henry,
Archdeacon of
Ghent.

Among us the knowledge of him has prevailed in the following manner:—He wrote a notable book, which was entitled “De Quæstionibus suis Ordinariis.”² He also wrote another solemn book, the title of which is “De Quodlibetis.”³

His
writings.

The first work begins thus:—“*Quia Theologia est Scientia in qua est sermo.*”⁴

¹ The word “*Archidiacono*” does not occur in the autograph MS., and was inserted by the scribe who made the Cottonian copy.

² See the edition of this work published at Paris in the year 1520, fol. 1, question I. There is also another edition bearing the date 1646.

³ See “*M. Henrici Goëthals a Gandavo, Doctoris Solemnis, Archidiaconi Tornacensis, Aurca Quod-*

libeta,” published at Venice in the year 1613.

⁴ “*Sic incipit* :”—and Capgrave left a blank space, on which, at a later period evidently, and with ink of a different colour, (but the handwriting is the same,) he entered the first few words given in the text as soon as he was able to refer to the works, and ascertain what they were. This curious fact, and two or three similar cases which occur in this and

A.D. 1279. And the second commences thus:—"Quærebantur in nostra disputatione."¹

Great praise accrues to this man from his writings, for he would have passed away unknown if what he had written had not come to light.

For, indeed, it conduces more to the fame and notoriety of men that the memory of their writings remains for future ages than do walls of the most solid construction, or marble temples, or statues of brass. Wherefore, also, Ralph of Chichester,² in the commencement of his Chronicle, says:—"The writings of the poets have added more to the praises of the Cæsars than all the riches of the world which they possessed. Who, I ask, would know any thing of the Cæsars now-a-day, who would admire philosophers, who would follow the example of apostles, were they not distinguished by the monuments of their writings? Who, finally, would know any thing of Lucilius, had not Seneca left a memorial of him in his letters? And so now, also, the arts and the laws would go utterly to ruin, the examples of remarkable deeds would disappear, and modes and styles of speaking would entirely perish, had not the Divine compassion provided the use of letters for a remedy of human imperfection."

These remarks have been made on account of the man, who, now that he is dead, yet lives among us in his writings, and has won more honour with foreign nations by his works than if he had surrounded his native city with walls.

This man was well exercised in the language of the Schools, and was not a little deeply read in questions of morals. On which account he obtained from the school-

the following chapter, are sufficient proofs that the MS. C.C.C. is the author's autograph, as well as the MS. of the *Chronicle of England*, preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge, the writing being the same in both.

¹ The "Incipit" was also inserted afterwards, on a blank space left for the purpose.

² This is a mistake for Richard of Cirencester, who, indeed, is sometimes, though erroneously, called Richard of Chichester.

men a title of honour, so that, as Saint Thomas was called A. D. 1279. the "Doctor Communis," and the venerable Egidius the "Doctor Declarativus," and Duns the "Doctor Subtilis," in like manner also was this man, to his most high renown, called the "Doctor Solemnis."

These are the praises of this most learned and scholastic man, O my Lord King, that this thy name may be spoken of as sublime, not only by reason of the majesty of emperors, but also of the power of kings, the prowess of noble soldiers, and —last of all — the erudition of clergy.

OF HENRY DE URIMARIA,
OF THE ORDER OF THE HERMITS OF SAINT AUGUSTIN.¹

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1340. THIS HENRY, who was a German by nation, was a man of great experience, sanctity, and learning.
Henry de
Urimaria.

In his youth, the Good Spirit of God guiding him, he entered the Order which is distinguished by the title of the Hermits of S. Augustin.

He applied himself to the study of books, as the record of his deeds testifies, in no ordinary degree, but at that period of his life he so devoted himself to study, that even when he reached mature age he could never be torn from it.

His industry and devotion.

As soon as he was made a Doctor of the University of Paris, he wrote many things of great use for the strengthening of the Church, the good of souls, and the discipline of seminaries. For, as we learn from the writings of his contemporaries, he never ceased from study or prayer. For as soon as he had risen from his book, either because he was wearied, or perchance because he was satisfied, then at once the vigils of the dead resounded from his mouth; then the seven penitential Psalms; so that, as is related of the blessed Cecilia, he never ceased from holy communings with God and prayer. On no day did he omit to attend mass; on no day did this scrupulous man offer the sacrifice

¹ These words are from the MS. Cotton.; the autograph MS. reads "Parisian Doctor."

till he had made confession, making a great matter of conscience even of the most trifling offences. Whenever other occupations did not happen to please him, he used to insert little notes in the margins of such books as he was anxious to study closely, completing the order and contents of the columns with his own opinions. A.D. 1340.

O blessed man ! worthy of all praise ! proved holy in life, peaceable in manners, excellent in doctrine !

Concerning the holiness of his devotion, I have read, — the account is given by Jordan, — that on one occasion, when he was celebrating at the altar of the blessed Katharine, he was seized with such an ecstasy of soul, that, forgetful of himself, forgetful also (with the Apostle) of those things which are behind, reaching forth to those things which are before,¹ he imagined that he was sharing the delights of Paradise, when he contemplated the holy Virgin and the martyr Katharine with so great devotion of mind that the very relics of the Virgin's body emitted sweat, giving a testimony of so great devotion.

He used to say to those amongst whom he was well known that never had his head ached by reason of study, never was the spine of his back affected, never the sight of his eyes impaired. It is a pleasant thing to see with how great favour the Lord preserves those who honour Him ; making them of good courage under trials, and rendering them unwavering under tribulation and anxiety. These pious exercises he persevered in to ripe age ; even in his sixtieth year he both studied and wrote.

He has left many volumes,² the results of his studies, His works. to those who come after him, of which the chief is his work on the Books of the Ethics, a very elaborate perform-

¹ Philippians, iii. 13.

² One of these, not mentioned by Jordan or by Capgrave, is preserved in the Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. 203, fol. 152 [136].—"The Begin-

ning of the Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, conceived by the learned Master de Urimaria, Professor of Sacred Theology."

A.D. 1340. ance, the beginning of which is, — "*Ex nobili prosapia oriundo Domino.*"¹

He also wrote "Sermons on the Saints, through the whole round of the year."

Also, a single treatise on that Decretal which begins, — "*Cum Martha.*"

Also, a single treatise "On the Perfection of the Inner Man."²

Also, a single treatise, entitled "On Exemptions."

These four works I have not seen myself, but I have given their titles from the book of Friar Jordan,³ who wrote his life, and that of some others. I have seen, however, his work on the Books of the Ethics; and his Ordinary Questions, the beginning of which is "*Utrum verbum sit ratio alicujus alterius productionis.*"⁴

Also, I have seen his "*Quodlibetum,*" the beginning of which I do not now remember, since I have not got it ready at hand.⁵

¹ This "Incipit" also was written on a blank space left for the purpose in the autograph MS.

² See MS. Bodl. Laud. 429, fol. 57. It is entitled "De Perfectione Spirituali," and the Prologue begins as follows:—"In the name of the Lord, Amen." This is the title, and the contents of the present work, the name of which is,—'A book on the Spiritual Perfection of the Inner Man.' For the honour of God, and the edification of readers, this book was studiously indited by Master Henry de Urimaria, S.T.P., and it was derived from the Books of the Collections and Institutions of the Saints."

³ See chapter xxii., (entitled "On Spiritual Communion,") at page 171 of the "*Liber qui dicitur 'Vitas—Fratrum,'*" compiled by the blessed Friar Jordan of Saxony, of the order of the Hermit Friars of S. Augustin." Rome, 1587. The catalogue of the

works of Henry de Urimaria, there given, has been copied by Capgrave.

⁴ This "Incipit" was also written at a later period in the autograph MS., on a blank space left for the purpose.

⁵ This is the most remarkable of all the internal proofs that the MS. C.C.C. is the author's autograph, and it may be regarded as quite conclusive. The passage runs as follows:—"Item vidi *Quodlibetum suum, cujus etiam initium*" A blank space was left as in the previous instances; but Capgrave either could not find the book, or it was not in the library of the Friary at Lynn; and he was unable to meet with it elsewhere when he wanted it, for he had once, for a short time at least, had it in his possession,—"*Item vidi.*" Accordingly he filled up the blank with the words, "*jam non recordeor, quoniam ad manus non est.*"

At the end of his days, he was harassed with great infirmities, and so purified for God. He suffered from strangury and calculus for about a year, and endured these inflictions with singular patience. Moreover, for a month he endured such a paralysis in his tongue that he could scarcely articulate the words which he had conceived in his mind, whereby, as we believe, those sins of the tongue, which least of all are becoming to doctors, were punished. For blessed is the man whose tongue doth not work iniquity.¹ A D. 1340.

When, however, he came to his last breath, he was able to speak with sufficient fluency. And so, when he had received all the sacraments, and had bidden all farewell, he uttered these his last words devoutly and solemnly :—
 “Into thy hands, O God the Father, I commend my spirit.”² And again,—“Into thy hands, O God the Son, I commend my spirit.” And again,—“Into thy hands, O God the Holy Ghost, I commend my spirit.” In the midst of these words he breathed out his spirit, leaving, indeed, this present world, and going to dwell with God. His death.

But a certain religious woman, who had been converted by his holy admonitions, sought to touch him after his death, and to look upon him. And being seized with the greatest devotion, while she wiped the face of the said father, and moistened her own face with the moisture which came from it, she was healed of an infirmity under which she had laboured for a long time ; for she suffered from vertigo in the head, and could obtain no relief from any of the remedies of the physicians. She was kept, as I believe, for this man, that God might be glorified in His Saints, and might be magnified in His wondrous works. Legend.

¹ 1 Peter, iii. 10.

— | ² S. Luke, xxiii. 46.

SUCH¹ are the brief commendations of these illustrious Henries, which, according to my ability, I have now set forth, beseeching of thy great clemency pardon for all my mistakes.

In the end of my little book I think that it is my duty to invoke these Blessed Kings, the patrons of this thy land, that they may by their supplications protect their successor in this realm, and defend him from all treachery. Of whom the first are Oswald, Edmund, Edward, and Kenelm, who, having gloriously shed their blood for Christ, now joyfully triumph among the Heavenly Ones. Others, again, are those glorious Confessors who commend thy nation to God,—Ethelbert and Oswin, Athelstan and Edward.

The first of these, the martyr Oswald, had no equal in the liberal bestowal of alms.

The second, Edmund, ended his life by the wounds of darts.

¹ In the Introduction to the Third Part (see page 165) Capgrave had said that it included, at the time of his writing, twelve of the Illustrious Henries, but that he hoped to find yet more, even among living men, bearing the same name, whose lives he might add to his work. His hope

seems never to have been realised: the whole of this concluding passage, however, was added at a later period in the autograph MS., evidently when he made up his mind to complete the work with the twelfth chapter of the Third Part.

The third, Edward, is recorded to have been betrayed to death by a kiss and a knife.

And the fourth, Kenelm, is now set forth as dead by the Heavenly Dove.

I desire that my Lord may by his alms be borne into the Heavens; that he may escape the fiery darts of the Accuser by the Shield of Faith; that he may have no knowledge of the band of traitors; and that he may possess the innocence of the dove.

Of the others, the first was converted to the Faith; the second offered his daughter to God; for the third a sword descended from Heaven into his scabbard; and the fourth died in the purity of chastity.

So also may my lord ever preserve the Faith inviolate; may he nourish up his children, when any shall be born to him, faithfully for God; that so his enemies may be frightened by his sword, and he may depart this life pure both in body and in soul; to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who, with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

Happily completed by Capgrave.¹

¹ These words,—“FELICITER PER CAPGRAVE,” occur at the end of the autograph MS. They are followed by Capgrave's private mark, a fac-

simile of which will be found at page 4 of *The Chronicle of England*.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X I.

NOTICES OF OTHER WORKS OF CAPGRAVE.

A FULL account of the somewhat voluminous writings of Capgrave will be found in the Introduction to his *Chronicle of England*.¹ Notices of
extant
MSS. of
Capgrave.

It will be seen at a glance that they are for the most part theological, consisting of commentaries upon almost every part of Holy Scripture, sermons, lectures, disputations, and the like. He appears, indeed, to have written no less than thirty-seven distinct works, but of these the following only are now known to be extant: —

1. A Commentary on the Book of Genesis. — There is only one MS., which is preserved in the Library of Oriel College, Oxford, and is singularly interesting, as it is the author's autograph, and contains a statement, in the hand-writing of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, (to whom it is dedicated,) to the effect that it was presented to him at Penshurst by Cap-

¹ See pp. xiii. *et seqq.*

grave himself. It runs as follows: — “Cest liure est a moy Humfrey, duc de Gloucestre, du don de Frere Johan Capgrave, quy le me fist presenter a mon manoyr de Pensherst, le jour de l'an M.CCCCXXXVIII.” This book was given, with some others, to the University of Oxford, by the duke of Gloucester.¹

2. A Commentary on the Book of the Acts of the Apostles. —An unique MS., the author's autograph, is preserved in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford.
3. On the Creeds.—Two MSS. of this work are preserved at Oxford, one, the author's autograph at All Souls' College,—the other, a nicely written copy, at Balliol College.
4. The History of certain illustrious men bearing the name of Henry.
5. The Life of S. Katharine.—At least three MSS. of this metrical work are still extant; of these two are preserved in the British Museum, and one in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian Library.
6. The Chronicle of England.—See the printed edition (London, 1858).
7. A Guide to the Antiquities and Curiosities of the city of Rome.—Four leaves only of this work are extant: these had been used to line the boards of the MSS. of Capgrave's Book on the Creeds, and

¹ A record of this gift, extracted from the Register of the University, will be found in the Appendix IV. to the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, at

page 227. It is also given in the *Chronicle of England* at page xiv., and is translated at the end of this Appendix.

were identified by the translator of the present volume.¹

8. The Sanctilogium, or "Nova Legenda Angliæ."—See the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, page 191.

There is, of course, nothing of interest to the historical student in the theological works named above, but their prologues contain many curious notices, chiefly relating to Capgrave's personal history. These have been printed at length in four appendices to the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*; it has been, however, considered sufficient, in the present place, to collect and translate the notices alluded to.²

Appendix I. contains the prologue to the "Nova Legenda Angliæ." The entire work, which was printed in the year 1516, by Wynkyn de Worde, is exceedingly curious. Of the lives of the saints, (and it will be observed that a great number are northern saints,) seven have been extracted, and printed *in extenso* in Bolland's *Acta Sanctorum*. The prologue is designed to prove the value of a good example; that the lives of holy men have more effect upon others than their words.

The writer's account of England is most enthusiastic:—"England," he says,³ "according to the definition of some, is so called from 'En,' which is 'In,' and 'Cleos,' which is 'glory,' as though she were 'all-glorious within.'" Nor is the description undeserved. For although, in merely ex-

¹ See the *Chronicle of England*, p. xx., and Appendix IV.

² See pp. 187-232.

³ See p. 200.

ternal matters, she rejoices in many and great prerogatives, as may be easily seen, for instance, in her fertile fields and abundant crops; in the vast weight of her wool-produce; in the loveliness of her meadows, streams, and fountains; in the endless variety and beauty of her cities and towns, her castles and public buildings; and, finally, in the wonderful and angelic splendour and loveliness of the nation, both in countenance and in costume, in courage and vigour of mind, as well as in other countless worldly goods, in all of which, exclusive of that which lies concealed within, her beauty and her glory are resplendent.

“But, still more nobly and gloriously does her excellence and majesty of spirit shine forth from the virtues and examples of the Saints, who have flourished in her, who all, like glowing constellations, lighted up the darkening world with their rays, while all men, in their clear light, could see that ‘God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.’”¹

Then follows a great deal of praise of S. Edward, S. Oswald, and S. Aidan; and afterwards a quotation from Werner Rolewink’s *Fasciculus Temporum*²: — “Why should I add more? So burning, in those times gone by, was the devotion of the kings of England, that it was a wonderful thing then to see a king who was not a Saint. Wherefore also that venerable and religious father who compiled the ‘Fasciculus Temporum,’ asserts in his Chronicle that he

¹ Acts, x. 35.

² See “Pistorii Scriptores Ger-

| mani,” vol ii. page 73.

found more sainted kings in England than in any other province of the world, however populous." Appendix
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The virtues of SS. Etheldreda, Cuthbert, Hugh the Bishop, Aidan, and Anselm, the Venerable Bede, Dunstan, and others are briefly touched on, the examples of certain holy men being recommended to be followed by English men, and those of certain holy women by English women. The prologue concludes thus : —

“Moreover, let the prudent reader take notice that in this book, although it contains the lives of very many English Saints, nevertheless all are not inserted in it, especially since no one could easily find all out by any amount of investigation whatever.

“But the collector, or, (if I may so speak,) the author of this work, has so devoted his labour to the compilation of the Lives of the Saints, that both he himself may derive profit from so pious a work, and may leave to others the power of adding many other things to the story of their merits. And let it never move any man, if the present volume, in its assertions respecting the places where the bodies or relics of the Saints repose, does not by any chance always and in all places agree with the fact, or coincide exactly with the opinions of others, for every man is great on his own sense, and whatever seems more evident to himself that he inserts in his writings. It is possible, moreover, and in the case of some of the Saints there can be no doubt, that their bodies and relics have been moved about or translated to different places; and so, though differing accounts have on that account been written, they

Appendix I. may possibly, nevertheless, contain the truth according to the diversity of the time.

“This one thing, however, we may piously believe, nay we ought to believe it, that, wheresoever their bodies may be placed, their souls have already been received into the Heavenly Habitations; to which may He bring us all Who is the most joyful praise and glory of all His saints. Amen.”¹

Appendix II. contains the Dedicatory Epistle prefixed to Capgrave's Commentary on the Creeds. It is addressed to William Gray, bishop of Ely,² and treats chiefly of the meaning of the word “Symbolum.” The opening sentences, in which the writer gives a curious derivation of his name, and touchingly alludes to his failing strength, are not devoid of interest:—

“To his excellent Lord, who is also beyond all others kind to him, William, Lord Bishop of Ely, his now and ever devoted suppliant, one John, the least of doctors, and distinguished by the title of the Hermits of S. Augustin, commonly known by the name of “De Monumento Pileato,”³ doth offer honour, prayers, vows, and whatever better thing so unskilled an admirer can think of.

¹ Here Capgrave's Prologue appears to have ended. The sentence immediately following was in all probability added by Wynkyn de Worde in explanation of his printed edition.

² He was Archdeacon of Northampton, and was made Bishop of Ely on the sixth of September, 1454, ten years before the death of Cap-

grave, who was then sixty years of age. He became Lord Treasurer, and died on the fourth of August, 1478.

³ The following explanation of this curious conceit is written in the margin of the MS. All Souls', in a late hand:—“Monumentum, *a grave*; pileatum, a pilco, *a cap*, i.e. ‘Capgrave.’”

“When the Psalmist saith: ‘According to Thy Name, so also is Thy praise,’¹ he speaks, I think, to me also, whose mind already is dull, and my body wrinkled, and, (as holy Job saith,) “my breath is weakened, my days are shortened, and only the tomb remains for me.”²

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“Affected by this consideration, I think every day whither I may direct my deeds, so that I may more easily return to that home from whence I was taken. And I have seen the good and praiseworthy customs of many persons, who, drawing near to death, have this as their last consolation, to keep the Faith in their heart, and to pronounce the Creed with their lips, according to that declaration of the Apostle in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: ³ ‘I will sing with the spirit: I will sing with the understanding also.’ Which saying, as some write, is understood of the external melody of the tongue and the inner joy of the mind.

“Wherefore, turning to my mind, I place my whole hope in the Faith; I repeat the Creed with my lips, that when my last day shall come, and at the Advent of our Lord, when He shall come, though He find but little, still He may find some faith upon the earth.”

Appendix III. contains the Dedicatory Epistle prefixed to Capgrave's Commentary on the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, which is also addressed to William Gray, Bishop of Ely. The opening sentence has been mutilated by the careless cutting away of a large illuminated letter. The

¹ Psalm xlviii. 10.

² Job, xvii. 1.

³ 1 Corinthians, xiv. 15.

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passage immediately following is interesting:—"Holy Prelate, I remember with what pious attentions you showed your affection towards me when a wretched pilgrim, and lying ill at Rome; and now that I am altogether relieved from the cares of office, I have determined to dedicate a work to you, though it has been somewhat slow in coming.

"For I have long eagerly desired to indite some work for the good of the Church; in which undertaking I considered that nothing could be better for me than to dedicate it to yourself, especially since your studies are prosecuted in all the coasts of the world, and you have reached the highest pinnacle of fame.

"Accept then what I send, and treat my book with fatherly kindness. Whatever things are good in it confirm by your pious authority; the evil things, if there are any,¹ study to root out utterly; that so this book, going forth from your Lordship, marked either with the asterisk or the obelisk,² may descend to others more safely, hedged about by so great authority."

Appendix IV. contains the Dedicatory Epistle prefixed to Capgrave's Commentary on the Book of Genesis, which is addressed to his great friend and patron, Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester.

Capgrave wrote a life of the Duke of Gloucester, which,

¹ These words, "*mala autem, si sint, funditus evellere studeatis*," stood originally without the "*si sint*" in the MS. (which is an autograph). The insertion is in Capgrave's own hand. He appears to have repented of having suggested that there were mistakes in his book.

² Obelus (ὀβελός), i.e. a spit. It was a mark, in shape resembling a spit placed horizontally, and commonly made opposite doubtful or suspected passages in books. The word was used only in late Latin. See S. Hieron. Ep. 112; Isid. Orig. i. 20.

unfortunately, must be reckoned among his lost works. That he intended to do so he announced in his life of Henry the Fourth; and that Bale and others were justified in stating that he fulfilled his intention there can be little doubt, but not a fragment or a single quotation in any other work is now, the editor believes, to be found. Appendix
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The loss of such a work is deeply to be lamented: in Capgrave's opinion of the Duke, and the few particulars relating to him which follow, extracted from the Dedicatory Epistle, the reader may find what consolation he can: —

“To the most glorious defender of the Christian Faith, and diligent extirpator of wicked heresies, and devoted protector of the poor who fight under Christ's banner, the Lord Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, his humble servant in Christ, and earnest suppliant, brother John, the least among Doctors, and brought up under the title of the Hermits of St. Augustin, sendeth greetings, prayers, and subjection.

“Those meditations of mine, in which, sporting in the field of the Scriptures, I used to take delight, intending to commit them to writing, and desiring to communicate them to others, I thought, O most serene Prince, that I could send them to no one better than your Lordship, forasmuch as you, flourishing in the vigour of a most subtle intellect, give yourself, as is reported, with the greatest earnestness to the study of the works of ancient Authors.

“And, because the Holy Scripture is admitted to be the more excellent way of human study, therefore, as I

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have heard, the Blessed Spirit of the Most High Father hath inspired you to investigate it in a special manner.

“Oh, how glorious it is to me in these evil days, in which even by Ecclesiastics knowledge is, as it were, repelled, to behold a Prince, working hard in the pursuit of knowledge, and just as if to those who are in the Church, and neglect sacred study, applies that reproach of the prophet, wherein it is said, ‘Blush, O Sidon, saith the sea.’¹

“For the word Sidon, which to us signifies ‘hunting,’ designates Ecclesiastics, whom the Lord hath made hunters and fishers of souls. But under the word ‘sea’ I have no doubt temporal lords are designated, for that they in the waves of human action, as in the deep, are exposed to the tossings of the swelling billows. But, forasmuch as they who are in the peace of the Church hasten to plunge into the waves of the world, while they who are in the midst of those waves embrace, as far as they can, the quiet of study, on them deservedly, (as we have said,) terribly thunders the saying of the prophet, declaring that even Sidon should blush before the sea. And deservedly, too, let those blush who, leaving their own, follow greedily after the things of others, when they see others grasping their things as well as their own.

“This digression, most noble Prince, now occurring to my mind, has more and more incited me to attend to study, lest, preaching to others, I myself should become a cast-away.²

“But the book of Genesis, because it occurred first to

¹ Isaiah, xxiii. 4.

| ² 1 Corinthians, ix. 27.

the expositions of the ancients, I have done my best to illustrate, taking especial care not to sow any thing new myself where the old students have formerly tilled the ground. The desire, therefore, of helping your studies, that you may the more intently give your mind to books, has especially moved me to send to you this little effort of my littleness, wherein is found the science of judging of literature.

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“But also, on turning over my Annals, I have found something else which admonishes me. For in them I have found an entry to the effect that in the year of our Lord 1248, the order of the Hermits of St. Augustin was founded in England by Richard de Clare,¹ the son of Gilbert de Clare, and earl of Gloucester. Since, then, by the means of your illustrious progenitors we have been led into this fertile land, worthily to him who is our general Founder have I, the very least of the whole Order, dedicated this my work, that if any things shall be found therein written in a Catholic spirit, and for the building up of the Faith, he may be reckoned not as our Founder only, but as our Protector also. If, however, there be found therein any ill-considered passages, or remarks which are discordant to pious ears, let him himself most kindly emend them with the file of correction.

“Moreover, this third consideration also moves me, that your Lordship is as a wall against the venomous tongues of

Gilbert de Clare, seventh Earl of Clare, and Earl of Hertford, (the son and heir of Richard de Clare, by Amice, daughter and sole heir of William, second Earl of Gloucester,)

succeeded his father in the year 1218. He died in 1229, and was succeeded by his son Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Earl of Gloucester.

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the moderns, to receive their blows. May it therefore please you, . . . O illustrious Prince, to accept this little work, unworthy though it be, and to regard the spirit of the writer, as if it proceeded from a more erudite man. For if it shall indeed please you, and the fact come to my knowledge,—forthwith, under the protection of my superiors, I hasten on to the Book of Exodus, and then to the rest of the Books of Moses.

* * * * *

“Long live your Royal Highness to the establishing of the Faith, the purging away of errors, and the protection of the poor; that, Christ directing, you may be translated from the turmoils of this world into the Heavenly Dwelling! Amen.”

Capgrave's allusion to his *Annals* (*Annualia mea*) is evidently to the *Chronicle of England*, in which the following passage¹ occurs:—

“In that same yere [A.D. 1228] Richard, the Kyngis brothir, weddid the lady Isabelle, that was wyf to Gilbert, Herl of Gloucester. That same Gilbert was ryth affectuous onto the Heremites of Seynt Austin; for, as it is seid, he was aqweyntid with Doctour Gilis in Frauns; and at his request Gylis was meved to make that bok of Governauns of Princes. But never the lasse he entitelid it to Philip, dauphin of Frauns. It is saide among us comounly, that this Gilbert graunted on to Gylis that he schuld make a Hous of oure Ordre in Ynglond. And because Gilbert deied or it was doo, Richard his son fulfillid his fader

¹ See page 152.

desire; for, in the þere of oure Lord 1230, Alisaunder the Pope gaf us leve for to edifie coventis in these places, Surek, Clayanger, Clare, and Sidingborn, and othir: but there tok no place but Clare and Wodous, which was than clepid Bica, or ellis Vilentynge. Than had this Ordre leve for to entyr, and bigge. But thei biggid not gretly onto the þere of oure Lord 1248.”

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The last date in this extract corresponds with the date in the passage referred to.

As we have said, the only extant MS. of this work is that preserved in the library of Oriel College, Oxford. It is the copy which the author gave to the duke of Gloucester, by whom it was given to the University of Oxford, as appears from the following document, which is entered in the Registers of the University:¹—

“This indenture was made at Oxford, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord 1443, and the twenty-second of the reign of King Henry the Sixth from the Conquest, between the most serene and most illustrious Prince and most noble Lord Humphrey, the son, the brother, and the sire of Kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Pembroke, and High Chamberlain of England, on the one part, and his most humble and continual suppliant, the University of Oxford, on the other part, testifieth, That the said University hath received of the exalted and most magnificent liberality of the aforesaid most illustrious Prince one hundred and thirty-five volumes, sent to the University by his beloved

¹ See Registrum F. fol. 67, b. The document, of which the annexed is a translation, is in Latin.

Appendix I. “and special messengers, Master William Say and Ralph
 “Drew; the names of which volumes, with the words at
 “the beginning of the second folio in each, are arranged
 “in order below:—

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

“Also, Capgrave on the First

Book of Kings 2nd fol. ‘*sint viv.*’

“Also, Capgrave on the Third

Book of Kings 2nd fol. ‘*fulgorem.*’

“Also, Capgrave on Genesis 2nd fol. ‘*arduum.*’

“Also, Capgrave on Exodus 2nd fol. ‘*et beatitudinem.*’

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

“In confirmation whereof the Common Seal of the Uni-
 “versity was affixed in the presence of the aforenamed.

“Given at Oxford, in our House of Congregation, on the
 “day and year aforesaid.”

APPENDIX II.

NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY.

THE Chronology of the present work will be found fully Appendix
discussed in the Introduction to the edition of the Latin II.
Text. The mistakes of the Author are there explained or The Chro-
rectified; and this indeed has been done to as great an nology of
extent as was possible in the margins of the Translation. this work.

As, however, Capgrave records the events of each king's reign as occurring in the "first" or "second" year, (as the case may be,) not very frequently giving the actual date, it is desirable to afford to the reader the means of ascertaining readily the days of the commencement and end of these regnal years. The annexed table of the first and last regnal years of each emperor and king of the name of Henry has been compiled from the best authorities:—

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.

HENRY I.

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------------|
| 1 | { | From 23 December, 918, |
| | { | To 22 December, 919. |
| 18 | { | From 23 December, 935, |
| | { | To 4 July, 936. |

Appendix
II.

HENRY II.

- 1 { From 6 June, 1002,
To 5 June, 1003.
- 22 { From 6 June, 1024,
To 14 July, 1024.

HENRY III.

- 1 { From 4 June, 1039,
To 3 June, 1140.
- 17 { From 4 June, 1056,
To 5 October, 1056.

HENRY IV.

- 1 { From 5 October, 1056,
To 4 October, 1057.
- 50 { From 5 October, 1105,
To 7 August, 1106.

HENRY V.

- 1 { From 6 January, 1106,
To 5 January, 1107.
- 19 { From 6 January, 1125,
To 23 May, 1125.

HENRY VI.

- 1 { From 15 April, 1190,
To 14 April, 1191.
- 8 { From 15 April, 1197,
To 28 September, 1197.

KINGS OF ENGLAND.

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II.

HENRY I.

- 1 { From 5 August, 1100,
To 4 August, 1101.
- 36 { From 5 August, 1135,
To 1 December, 1135.

HENRY II.

- 1 { From 19 December, 1154,
To 18 December, 1155.
- 35 { From 19 December, 1188,
To 6 July, 1189.

HENRY III.

- 1 { From 28 October, 1216,
To 27 October, 1217.
- 57 { From 28 October, 1272,
To 16 November, 1272.

HENRY IV.

- 1 { From 30 September, 1399,
To 29 September, 1400.
- 14 { From 30 September, 1412,
To 20 March, 1413.

HENRY V.

- 1 { From 21 March, 1413,
To 20 March, 1414.
- 10 { From 21 March, 1422,
To 31 August, 1422.

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HENRY VI.

1 { From 1 September, 1422,
To 31 August, 1423.

39 { From 1 September, 1460,
To 4 March, 1461.

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- Arques, Henry V., on his march from Harfleur to Calais, reaches, 132.
- Arthur, the Prince, appointed by Richard I. of England to be his heir, 88; murdered by the order of John, *ib.*; his sister marries Louis, Dauphin of France, *ib.*
- Artois, Alvisus of, *see* Alvisus of Artois.
- Arundel, Earls of, —
 Richard Fitz-Alan, *see* Fitz-Alan, Richard.
 Richard Fitz-Alan, (s. and h.) *see* Fitz-Alan, Richard.
 Thomas Fitz-Alan, *see* Fitz-Alan, Thomas.
- Arundel, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, supports Henry, Duke of Lancaster, against Richard II., 107; he had been exiled by Richard II., *ib.*; lands with the Duke near Bridlington, 108; they proceed to Bristol, *ib.*; the exile of, forms part of the third of the charges alleged against Richard II. in Westminster Hall, *ib.*; is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 112; condemns Sir John Oldcastle as a heretic, 127.

Asaph, S., Bishop of,—

John Trevour II., *see* Trevour, John (II.).

Athelstan, King, many Monasteries built by him, 17.

Athol, David, Earl of (with Henry de Beaumont, Richard Talbot, and other nobles), assists Edward Baliol, 194; they ask permission of Edward III. to pass through England into Scotland, which is refused, 195; they are permitted to go by sea, *ib.*

Augustin, S., Capgrave, a Hermit of the Order of, 1; his authority quoted on the question of lawful war, 9; also in reference to the step taken by Henry I. (of Germany) of releasing prisoners, and giving them arms, *ib.*; Henry of Lancaster, returning from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visits the tomb of, 105; quotation from, on matrimony, 158; quotations from, on martyrdom, 168; quotations from, 177, *and note*; 179, *and note*. The De Clares, Earls of Gloucester, befriend the Hermits of, in England, 231.

Augustus Cæsar, Prince Henry, son of Henry II., King of England, compared to, 82.

Ausbertus marries the daughter of Clotaire, by whom he is the father of Arnold, 174.

Anstin Friary at Lynn, *see* Lynn.

Austria, Albert III., Duke of, *see* Albert III., Duke of Austria.

Austria, Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby) passes through on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 105; is entertained by Albert III., Duke of, *ib.*

Austria, Leopold of, *see* Leopold of Austria.

Auvergne, in France, subject to Henry II. of England, 86.

Auxerre, Hugh of, *see* Hugh of Auxerre.

B.

Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, is appointed Regent, during the childhood of Philip I., King of France, 172.

Baldwin V., King of Jerusalem, persuaded by the Patriarch Eraclius, joins the Crusade against the Saracens, 83.

Baliol, Edward, appeals to Edward III. to assist him in asserting his claim to the crown of Scotland, 194; obtains the support of Henry de Beaumont; David, Earl of Atholl; Richard Talbot, and other nobles, *ib.*

Balliol College, Oxford, MSS. at, 222.

Bamberg, the church at, built by the Emperor, Henry II., and his wife S. Cunegund, 16; his continual devotions there, 17.

Banester, Thomas, companion in arms of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, 188.

Bangor, Bishop of,—

Hervey, *see* Hervey, Bishop of Ely.

Barbarossa, *see* Frederic I. Barbarossa.

Bardo, Archbishop of Mayence, his dispute with the Abbot of Fulda for supremacy, 26.

Bartholomew, a man called, carries the Sacred Spear through fire at Antioch, 12.

Basset, Ralph (of Welden), is taken prisoner at Northampton by the army of Henry III., 100.

Basset, William, is made Lord Chief Justice by Henry III., 97.

Bateman, William, Bishop of Norwich, accompanies Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, to Pope Innocent VI. to treat for peace between England and France, 189.

Batilda, wife of Clovis II., King of France, the mother of Clotaire III., Childeric II., and Thierry III., 173.

Bavaria, Henry II., called Hezilon [Besilio], Duke of, *see* Hezilon.

Bavaria, Henry III. (the Lame), Duke of, is elected Emperor, 14; *see* Henry II. (Emperor.)

Bavarians, the, incite Henry V. at Ratisbon, to rebel against his father, 31.

- Bayeux, Robert of (William of, in "Le Neve)," Archdeacon of Lincoln, 206.
- Bayonne, Louis IX. acknowledges the rights of Henry III. in, 96.
- Bearn, Gaston de, Henry, son of Richard, King of the Romans, marries the daughter of, 176.
- Beatrice, Countess of Provence, gives her name to the daughter of Henry III., 93.
- Beatrice, Princess, daughter of Henry III. of England, is born in Gascogne, 93; so called after Beatrice, Countess of Provence, *ib.*
- Beauseant, the standard of the Knights Templars, 183.
- Beauchamp, Edward, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113.
- Beauchamp, Richard de, Earl of Warwick, receives the Emperor Sigismund (on his way to England), at Calais, 136.
- Beauchamp, Thomas de, Earl of Warwick, opposes Richard II., 103; is imprisoned, 107.
- Beauchamp, William, de Bergavenny, *see* Bergavenny.
- Beaufort, Henry (third son of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swinford), Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal and Chancellor, 135; at the Parliament held at Westminster, after the battle of Agincourt, he proclaims to Henry V. his right to the crown of France, *ib.*; he urges the people to thank God for the capture of Calais by Edward III., and Harfleur by Henry V., *ib.*
- Beaufort, Thomas, Earl of Dorset (called by mistake "of Dorchester," by Capgrave) and Duke of Exeter, 135, 139; defeats the French, 135.
- Beaumont, Henry de, *see* Henry de Beaumont.
- Beaumont, Henry, Lord, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113.
- Beauvais, Henry, Bishop of, 185.
- Beauvais, Vincent of, his Chronicle, *see* Vincent of Beauvais.
- Becket, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, his consecration, 76; swears allegiance to the Prince Henry, *ib.*; is present at the Council of Tours, *ib.*; his resignation of the Great Seal, *ib.*; Henry II. plots his ruin, 77; and prevents Roger de Clare (Earl of Hertford) from doing homage to Becket for the Castle of Tunbridge, *ib.*; he refuses to give his assent to the Constitutions of Clarendon, *ib.*; he excommunicates all who support the Constitutions of Clarendon, *ib.*; the King drives him from Pontigny, and exiles every member of his family from England, *ib.*; his violent death at Canterbury, 78; Henry II. sends messages to Pope Alexander III., declaring his innocence of the murder of Becket, *ib.*; the King is obliged to make satisfaction on account of the murder, *ib.*; Henry II., having done penance at his tomb, is absolved, 80.
- Bede, the Venerable, Reference to the "Hebraicorum nominum interpretatio" of, 4, and *note*; allusion to his learning and piety, 225.
- Bedewita, afterwards called "pratum Beati Edwardi," rebels (in the time of Richard II.) assemble in, 199, *note*.
- Bedford, Duke of,—
John Plantagenet, *see* John Plantagenet.
- Belesme, Robert de, Earl of Shrewsbury, accompanies Robert Duke of Normandy against Henry I., 55, and *note*; flies from the battle of Tenechebray, *ib.*
- Benedict IX., Pope, and the Great Schism, 28, 29; he cedes the Papal Chair to John Graziano (Gregory VI.), and is allowed the revenues derived from England as his portion, 29.
- Benedict, S., Henry V. begins to reign on the day of, 125.
- Berenger II., King of Italy (*see* Lombards); placed by Martinus Polonus among the Emperors of the West, 14.
- Bergavenny, William Beauchamp de, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 112.

- Berkeley, Thomas de, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 112, *and note*; is sent to announce to Richard II. his deposition, 114.
- Bernard, S., draws up the Rule of the Knights Templars, 182; Henry of France (afterwards Archbishop of Sens), affected by his preaching, becomes a monk, 184; his two illustrious disciples, Eugenius III. (Pope), and Henry of Sens, 184, 185; his letters to Henry of Sens, 185.
- Berwick, Henry de Beaumont is present at the siege of, 197.
- Besilio, *see* Hezilon.
- Bica, *see* Woodhouse.
- Bittering, William, a benefactor of the Austin Priory at Lynn, 160, *note*.
- Blanche, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster (confused in the text with Constance daughter of Peter the Cruel, King, of Castile), 102; her marriage to John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond, mentioned, 191; they were married at Reading, *ib*.
- Blanchmains, Robert, Earl of Leicester, rebels against Henry II., 79, *note*.
- Bloet, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, Henry I. confers on him his royal vill of Spalding, in consideration for the transfer of Cambridge to the newly erected see of Ely, 58.
- Blois, Charles de, *see* Charles de Blois.
- Blois, Peter of, *see* Peter of Blois.
- Blois, Stephen of, (Father of Stephen King of England,) *see* Stephen of Blois.
- Blois, Stephen of, *see* Stephen of Blois, King of England.
- Blois, Theobald of, *see* Theobald of Blois.
- Blount, William le, *see* Blund, William le.
- Blund, William le, and others are sent by the Barons to Louis IX. of France, to plead their cause against Henry III. in the matter of the Provisions of Oxford, 99.
- Boëthius, Henry of Lancaster, returning from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visits the tomb of, 105.
- Bohemia, reference to the wars of the Emperor Henry II. in, 17; Henry III. (Emperor) defeats Andrew, the King of, 28; Henry Duke of Lancaster, returning from Jerusalem, passes through, 106.
- Bohemia, Dukes of:—
 Spitigneus I., *see* Spitigneus I.
 Wenceslas I., *see* Wenceslas I.
 Boleslas I., *see* Boleslas I.
- Bohemia, Kings of:—
 Bretislas I., *see* Bretislas I.
 Borzivoi II., *see* Borzivoi II.
- Bohun, Henry de, Earl of Hereford, *see* Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.
- Bohun, Humphrey de, his daughter Mary marries Henry IV., 116, *and note*.
- Bohun, Mary de, Queen of Henry IV., *see* Mary de Bohun.
- Bohun, William de, Earl of Northampton, companion in arms of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, 187, *and note*.
- Bois de Vincennes, Henry V. dies at, 143, *note*.
- Boleslas I. (Duke of Bohemia) puts his brother Wenceslas I. to death, 167.
- Bolingbroke, Henry, *see* Henry, Duke of Lancaster.
- Bolingbroke, in Lincolnshire, Henry IV. born at, 102.
- Boniface, Count, Letter of S. Augustin to, 177, *and note*.
- Bordeaux, the Archbishop of, and the Gascon nobles urge Henry III. to visit his foreign possessions, 92; Henry III. invades France, and proceeds towards, 93; he defeats Louis IX. there, *ib*.; five years' truce, *ib*.; Louis IX. acknowledges the rights of Henry III. in, 96.
- Borgo, Il, (Urbs Leonina), a suburb of the city of Rome, *see* Leonina Urbs.
- Borzivoi II, Duke of Bohemia, deserts the cause of the Emperor Henry IV., and joins his son Henry, 32.
- Bouillon, Godfrey de, is elected King of Jerusalem, 11; is present at the discovery of the Sacred Spear at Antioch, 11, 12.
- Boulogne, Stephen of, *see* Blois, Stephen of.

- Bourbon, John, Duke of, harasses the troops of Henry IV., passing from Harfleur to Corbie, 132; challenges the English King to do battle, *ib.*
- Bourdin, a Spaniard, is intruded on the Holy See by the Emperor Henry V., 37; is treated ignominiously by the Romans, and imprisoned at Salerno, *ib.*
- Bourges, Alberic of, *see* Alberic of Bourges.
- Bourges, Prince Henry, eldest son of Henry I., King of England, is married to Margaret, daughter of Louis VII., King of France, at, 76.
- Bowes, Henry V. passes through, on the way to Agincourt, 132.
- Bradford, Ralph, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113.
- Brampton, Henry I. meets Theobald of Blois at, 63.
- Breakspere, Nicholas, *see* Adrian IV., Pope.
- Brenville, the Battle of, Louis VI., King of France, is defeated by Henry I. at, 61.
- Bret, Charles de la, Constable of France, is killed at Agincourt, 133.
- Bretagne, the men of, join Henry I. on his invasion of Normandy, 55; and are opposed to the forces of William, Earl of Mortaigne, in the battle of Tenechebray, *ib.*; rebelling against John de Montfort, it is by Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, restored to him, 188.
- Bretagne, Joan of Navarre, relict of John de Montfort, Duke of, is married to Henry IV., 117, 118.
- Bretislas I., King of Bohemia, is conquered by the Emperor Henry III., 24.
- Brewes, Sir John, brings certain rebels to Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, 199.
- Bridlington, Henry of Lancaster lands near, 108.
- Bridlington, John of, his verses on the achievements of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, 188, 189.
- Bristol, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, proceeds to, 108; William le Scrope, Barl of Wiltshire, John Bushy, and Henry Greenc, are there executed, *ib.*
- Bristol, given by Henry III. to Edward I. on his marriage with Eleanor of Castile, 94.
- Britanny, *see* Bretagne.
- Brixen, in the Tyrol, Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) is deposed at a Council held at, and Guipert, Bishop of Ravenna, elected in his room, 30.
- Bruce, David, *see* David II., King of Scotland.
- Brunswick, the Duke of, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, accuses (before the French King), of treachery, 188.
- Brydlyngton, *see* Bridlington.
- Buckingham, Earl of,—
Thomas of Woodstock, *see* Thomas of Woodstock.
- Burbache, John, LL.D., is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113, *note*.
- Burgh, Hubert de, Earl of Kent, prevents Henry III. from accepting the invitation of the Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Gascons, to visit his foreign possessions, 92.
- Burgos, Edward I. marries Eleanor of Castile at, 94.
- Burgundy, Dukes of,—
John, *see* John, Duke of Burgundy.
Robert, *see* Robert II., King of France.
- Burnel, Lord Hugh de, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 112, 113, *note*.
- Bushy, Sir John, Knight, is executed at Bristol by the order of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, 108.

C.

Caen, the corpse of Henry I., of England, is carried from Rouen to Caen, 68; reference

- to William the Conqueror having been buried at, 140; Henry V. takes, *ib.*
- Cahors, Louis IX. acknowledges the rights of Henry III. in, 96.
- Calais, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, is executed by the order of Richard II. at, 107; Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, commands the people at Westminster to praise God for the capture, by Edward III., of, 135; the Emperor Sigismund, visiting Henry V., is received by the Earl of Warwick at, 136; he is on his return, accompanied by Henry V. as far as, 138; receives the French Ambassadors at, 139; after the Battle of Agincourt, Henry V. proceeds to, 134; the Lord Gaucourt, according to promise, comes thither with the captives, *ib.*
- Calixtus II., Pope, persuaded by the Archbishop of Cologne and Mayence, excommunicates the Emperor Henry V., 37; the Emperor Henry V. yields to him the right of investiture, 39; Henry I. holds a conference with him at Gisors, 62.
- Cambrensis, Giraldus, *see* Giraldus Cambrensis.
- Cambridge taken from the Diocese of Lincoln, and given to the newly-erected See of Ely, by Henry I., 58; King's College at, founded by Henry VI., 153; William Millington (personally known to Capgrave) appointed its first Provost, 154; Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, captures and executes many rebels at, 199; he captures some of the ringleaders between Thetford and, *ib.*
- Cambridge, Earl of,—
Richard Plantagenet, *see* Richard Plantagenet.
- Cambridge, Nicholas, Archdeacon of, *see* Nicholas, Archdeacon of Cambridge.
- Camden's edition of Giraldus Cambrensis, 38, *note*.
- Cana in Galilee, CHRIST's presence at the marriage in, 157.
- Candia, Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby), on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, passes through, 105.
- Canons Regular, the Knights Templars to follow the customs of, 182.
- Canterbury, Archbishops of,—
Anselm, *see* Anselm.
Dunstan, *see* Dunstan.
Edmund Rich, *see* Abington, Edmund of.
Henry Chicheley, *see* Chicheley, Henry.
Ralph or Rodolphus, *see* Ralph.
Thomas Arundel, *see* Arundel, Thomas.
Thomas Becket, *see* Becket, Thomas.
- Canterbury, Priors of,—
Thomas Chillenden, *see* Chillenden, Thomas
Thomas Goldston, *see* Goldston, Thomas.
- Canterbury, the See of, Gerard, Archbishop of York, does homage to, 57; Thurstan, Archbishop of York, refuses to do homage to, 58, 59; Henry II. visits, and does penance at the tomb of Becket, 80; and is afterwards absolved, *ib.*; Richard, King of the Romans, confirms his brother's oath before the Barons at, 95; after the battle of Agincourt Henry V. passes through Calais to London, by way of, 134; the Emperor Sigismund, visiting Henry V., is received by the Archbishop at, 136; Henry V., hearing of the defeat of the French fleet by the Duke of Bedford, hastens to, 137; he there relates all to the Emperor Sigismund, and they return public thanks, 138.
- Canterbury, Thomas, Archdeacon of, *see* Becket, Thomas.
- Canute the Great, King of Denmark, *see* Chudelinde.
- Capet, Hugh, *see* Hugh Capet.
- Capgrave dedicates his work to King Henry VI., 1; gives the etymology of the name "Henricus," 3; divides his work into three parts, 4; prays for the restoration of peace and for a blessing on the King, 5; invokes the Divine blessing on his work, 7; discusses the propriety of Henry I. (of Ger-

many) arming prisoners against his enemies, 9 ; decides that Henry I. acted rightly, 10 ; discusses the propriety of moving the relics of the Saints from place to place, 12 ; vindicates his accuracy in his relation of the deposition of Richard II., 107 ; expresses his intention of writing a Life of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 117 ; records that he saw the Princess Philippa, daughter of Henry IV., embark at Lynn, on her way to be married to Eric XIII. of Norway, *ib.* ; references to his Chronicle of England, *in the notes passim* ; he dilates on the accidental circumstances attending the birth of Henry VI., King of England, 144, 145 ; refers to his own ordination, and records the joy that was manifested in London on the occasion of the birth of Henry VI., 146 ; praises Henry VI., 150 ; and compares him to Constantine, 151, 152 ; says that he was present at the foundation of Eton College, and saw Henry VI. lay the first stone, 153 ; records that he knew personally William Millington, the first Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 154 ; deplors the decline of the English navy, 155 ; gives his views on matrimony, 157, 158 ; narrates the visit of Henry VI. to his Friary at Lynn, 158 ; gives him an account of its foundation and past history, 159 ; and of its state in his own time, 160 ; describes the intention and scope of the Third Part of this Work, 165 ; discusses the propriety of the retirement of Henry, Archbishop of Sens, from public affairs, and decides that he was right, 185 ; discusses the propriety of an ecclesiastic bearing arms, 203 ; notice of the "Nova Legenda Angliæ" of, 223 ; notice of his "Commentary on the Creeds," 222 ; extracts from the Dedication of this Commentary to William Gray, Bishop of Ely, 226 ; reference to his work on the Antiquities of Rome, 222 ; curious derivation of the word "Capgrave," 226, *and note* ; notice of his

"Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles," 222 ; extracts from his Dedication of this Commentary to William Gray, Bishop of Ely, 228 ; notice of his "Commentary on the Book of Genesis," 221 ; extracts from the Dedication of this Commentary to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 229 ; he refers in this Dedication to his "English Chronicle" (*Annalia mea*), 231.

Cardiff Castle, in Wales, Robert, Duke of Normandy, imprisoned by his brother, Henry I., dies at, 65 ; story of the robes sent to him there by his brother, *ib.* ; certain mysterious warnings given to Henry II. at, 78.

Carlisle, David I., King of Scotland, knights Henry II. of England at, 70.

Carlovingian Dynasty, the termination of, 174.

Cashel, Council of (in Ireland), at which the conquest of Ireland by Henry II. is confirmed by Pope Alexander III., 75, *note*.

Castile, King of,—

Alphonso IX. (called the Noble), *see* Alphonso IX.

Caux, Pays du, *see* Pays du Caux.

Cavendish, John, is slain by the rebels in Wat Tyler's rebellion, 200, *note*.

Celestine III., Pope, in the time of Henry VI. Emperor, 43 ; is succeeded by Innocent III., *ib.* ; reference to his excommunication of the Emperor Henry VI. for the incarceration of Richard I. of England, extracted from Higden's Polychronicon, 44.

Champagne, Henry II., Count of, *see* Henry II., Count of Champagne.

Champagne, Mary, Countess of, mother of Henry II., Count of Champagne, 180 ; sister of Philip I., King of France, *ib.*

Champagne, Troyes in, *see* Troyes in Champagne.

Charlemagne, Leo IV., Pope, sends certain relics to, 12 ; he succeeds his father Pepin on the throne of France, 174.

Charles de Blois invades Bretagne, 188 ; he

- is defeated and carried prisoner to England by Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, *ib.*
- Charles II. (the Bald), King of France, succeeds Louis I. 174; is succeeded by his son, Louis III., the father of Charles III. (the Simple), *ib.*
- Charles III. (the Simple), King of France, submits to Henry I. of Germany, 12; is succeeded by Louis IV., 174.
- Charles VI., King of France, Henry V. sends ambassadors to him, demanding the restoration of the English possessions in France, 129; the Dauphin menaces King Henry, *ib.*; refuses to treat with Henry V., 131.
- Charles, Duke of Orleans, *see* Orleans, Charles, Duke of.
- Chartres, Geoffrey of, *see* Geoffrey of Chartres.
- Chester, Earls of,—
 Hugh Cyvelioc, *see* Cyvelioc, Hugh.
 Hugh de Abrincis, *see* William, Earl of Chester.
 William, *see* William.
- Chester, the Emperor Henry V. lives in retirement in the Monastery of S. Withburga at, 39; the barge of King Edgar is rowed by six (or by eight) Kings at, 155.
- Chicheley, Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, receives the Emperor Sigismund at Canterbury, 136.
- Chichester, Richard of, quotation from his Chronicle, *see* Cirencester, Richard of.
- Childeric I., King of France, succeeds his father Moroveus, 173; is succeeded by his son Clovis I., *ib.*
- Childeric II., son of Clovis II., King of France, succeeds his brother Clotaire III., 173; is succeeded by his brother Thierry III., *ib.*
- Chillenden, Thomas, Prior of Canterbury, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113, *note*.
- Chilperic I., King of France, succeeds his father Clotaire I., 173; is succeeded by his son Clotaire II., *ib.*
- Chunelinde, daughter of Canute the Great, King of Denmark, wife of Henry III., Emperor, dies, 25.
- CHRIST, discovery of the seamless coat of, 75; His presence at the wedding in Cana of Galilee, and its bearing on matrimony, 157; Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, visits the sepulchre of, 193.
- Chrysostom, S., quotation from one of the spurious Sermons of, 168, *and note*.
- Cirencester, Richard of, called in the MSS. Ralph of Chichester, quotation from the Chronicle of, 210.
- Clairvaux, Henry, Archbishop of Sens, and Pope Eugenius III., originally disciples of S. Bernard, at, 184, 185.
- Clare, Austin Friary at, the heart of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who died at Milan, is carried to England by his own request, and buried at, 105; its early foundation, 231.
- Clare, Gilbert de, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, assists Simon de Montfort at the siege of Rochester, 100.
- Clare, Richard de, Earl of Gloucester, fulfils the intentions of Gilbert, his father, towards the Hermits of St. Augustin, 231, 232.
- Clare, Roger de, Earl of Hertford, by the connivance of King Henry II., refuses to do homage to Becket for his castle of Tunbridge, 77.
- Clarence, Dukes of,—
 Lionel Plantagenet, *see* Lionel.
 Thomas Plantagenet, *see* Thomas.
- Clarendon, the Council of, 77; Thomas Becket refuses to give his assent to the Constitutions of, *ib.*; he excommunicates all who acknowledge them as binding, *ib.*
- Claudus, (the Lame,) a name given to the Emperor Henry II., 18.
- Clayhanger, permission granted to build an Austin Friary at, 232.
- Clement II., Pope, crowns the Emperor Henry. 27; (*see* Henry IV. Emperor) is made Pope in the time of Benedict IX., 29.
- Clodion (called Crinitus), succeeds Pharamund as King of the Franks, 172; the Kings of France are called "Criniti," after him, *ib.*

- Clotaire I., King of France, succeeds his father Clovis I., 173; is succeeded by Chilperic I., his son, *ib.*
- Clotaire II., King of France, succeeds his father Chilperic I., 173; is succeeded by his son Dagobert I., *ib.*
- Clotaire III., King of France, son of Clovis II., succeeds his father, 173; is succeeded by his brother Childeric II., *ib.*
- Clotaire IV., King of France, succeeds his father Thiery III., 173.
- Clovis I., King of France, succeeds his father Childeric I., 173; is baptized by S. Remigius, *ib.*; is succeeded by his son, Clotaire I., *ib.*
- Clotaire II., King of France, succeeds his father Dagobert I., 173; is succeeded in succession by his three sons, Clotaire III., Childeric II., and Thierry III., *ib.*
- Coat of CHRIST, the seamless, legend of its discovery, 75.
- Cobham, John de, condemned to perpetual imprisonment by Richard II., 107; this act forms part of the third of the charges brought against Richard II. in Westminster Hall, 109.
- Cobham, Lord, John Oldcastle, *see* Oldcastle, John.
- Coin; introduction of a new (gold) coin by Henry III., 94; the "ship" on a certain English coin,—the reproach of foreigners relating to it,—"remove the 'ship' and stamp a 'sheep,'" 156.
- Coining false money, punishments assigned by Henry I., of England, to those who are convicted of, 58.
- Cokesford, Agnes de, wife of Robert de Cokesford, a benefactor of the Austin Friary at Lynn, 160, *note*.
- Cokesford, Robert de, a benefactor of the Austin Friary at Lynn, 160, *note*.
- Colchester, William de, Abbot of Westminster, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard III., 113, *note*.
- Cologne, Archbishop of,—
Frederic, *see* Frederic.
- Cologne, the Emperor, Henry IV., having been deposed at the Council of Mayence, retires to, 32.
- Comet, appearance of a, 56.
- Comnenus, Manuel I., Emperor of Constantinople, *see* Manuel I.
- Conrad I., Duke of Franconia, is elected Emperor (King of Germany), 8; he leaves the throne to Henry I., the Fowler, *ib.*
- Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, King of Jerusalem, succeeded by Henry, *see* Henry II., Count of Champagne.
- Conrad the Salique, Emperor, is succeeded by Henry III., 19, *and note*; banishes Leopold (the father of Henry III.) from his court, *ib.*; is accidentally present at the birth of the child, *ib.*; hears a voice proclaiming that the infant should succeed to his throne, *ib.*; commands his servants to slay the child, 20; they spare it, and show him the heart of a hare, *ib.*; sees him when he is fifteen years old, *ib.*; takes him to his court, 21; suspecting his origin, he again compasses his death, 21, 22; is foiled by a priest, 22; discovers that (by means of the priest) Henry had been married to his own daughter, 23; is reconciled to him, and recalls Count Leopold, 24; dies, and is succeeded by Henry III., *ib.*; the date of his death, 18, *note*.
- Constance, daughter of Tancred, King of Sicily, marries the Emperor, Henry VI., 43.
- Constantinople, Emperor of,—
Manuel I. Comnenus, *see* Manuel I.
- Constantine the Great, Henry VI., follows his example in his conduct towards the Church, 151; account of the vision and conversion of, *ib.*; his presence at the Council of Nice, 152; gives the Sacred Spear to Rodolph of Burgundy, 11.
- Conteshall, John de, a benefactor of the Austin Friary at Lynn, 160, *note*.
- Conway, Richard II. at, promises to abdicate, 113; he fulfils his promise, *ib.*
- Corbie, Henry V., marching from Harfleur, proceeds through Arques and Eu to, 132;

- the French are routed there by his archers, *ib.*
- Cornwall, Richard, Earl of, *see* Richard, King of the Romans.
- Cosyn, Alice (widow of Richard Cosyn), a benefactor of the Austin Friary at Lynn, 160, *note*.
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- Cunegund, S., the wife of the Emperor Henry II., her austere life, 16.
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- Edward Plantagenet, Duke of Albemarle, and Duke of York, is slain at the battle of Agincourt, 133, *and note*.
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- Eric VI., King of Denmark, his life, 167, *et seq.*; account of his death, 167; he sees a vision of Wenceslas, 168; having learned from his nobles who Wenceslas was, he translates his relics, 169; he is put to death by his brother Abel, 170.
- Eric IX., King of Denmark (XIII. of

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- Erpingham, Sir Thomas, Knight, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113, *and note*; is sent to announce to Richard II. his deposition from the throne, 114.
- Esterby, Philip de, warns King Henry II. of England, 79.
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- Ethelbert, King of Kent, 217; he embraces Christianity, 218.
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- Eton, the College at, founded by King Henry VI., 153; verses on the laying of the first stone by Henry, *ib*.; he appoints William of Waynflete as the first Provost of, 154.
- Eu, Henry V., marching from Harfleur to Calais, proceeds through Arques, and, 132; he moves on from thence to Corbie, *ib*.
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- Evander, the father of Pallas, whose body was discovered at Rome, 25.
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- Exodus, Capgrave's Commentary on the Book of, a MS. of, sent to the University of Oxford by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 233.
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- Felix, S., the day of, reflections on the death of Henry V. on, 123.
- Felmingham, (Co. Norfolk,) Litster, the rebel, at, 200; his country house there, *ib*.; Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, sends one of the quarters of his body to, 201.
- Feriby, William de, Public Notary, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113, *note*.
- Feschamp, Remigius de, Bishop of Lincoln, seven Archdeaconries in the Diocese of, and the names of the Archdeacons in his time, 206, *and note*.
- Fitz-Alan, Richard, Earl of Arundel, opposes Richard II., 103; executed by Richard II., 107; this act forms part of the third of the charges alleged against him in Westminster Hall, 108; Owen Glyndwr called his "Esquire," 119.
- Fitz-Alan, Richard, Earl of Arundel, accompanies Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster, to Pope Innocent VI. to treat for peace between England and France, 189.
- Fitz-Alan, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 112.
- Flambard, Ralph, Bishop of Durham, escapes from the Tower of London, and persuades Robert Duke of Normandy to invade England, 54, *and note*.
- Flanders, Pope Urban VI. sends Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, into, to oppose heretics, 201; his success there is impaired by the interference of Elmham and Trivet, *ib*.
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- Folkingham (Co. of Lincoln), the Manor of, belonging to Henry de Beaumont, 197.

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- Garret, Knight of the, the Emperor Sigismund is made, by Henry V., 136.
- Gascogne, *see* Aquitaine.
- Gascons, the, urge Henry III. to visit his foreign possessions, 92.
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- Gaucourt, the Lord de, opposes Henry V. at Harfleur, 131; he is defeated and compelled to surrender the keys of the town, *ib.*; the King permits him to go to the King of France, on condition that he should return to him at Calais, *ib.*; he fulfils his promise, and comes to the King at Calais, 134.
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- Gelasius II., Pope of Rome, succeeds Paschal II., 37.
- Genealogy of the Kings of France from Antenor, written by Henry I., King of France, 172, *et seqq.*
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- Genoese, the, blockade Harfleur, 137.
- Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, marries Maud, widow of the Emperor Henry V., 64; on the visit of Henry I. to Normandy, there arises a discord between him and, 66; his charges against Queen Eleanor, 87; his death, 70.
- Geoffrey Plantagenet the younger (brother of Henry II. of England), his son Arthur appointed heir to Henry II., 88; murdered by the order of John, *ib.*
- Geoffrey, son of Henry II., of England, 87, *and note*; rebels against his father, 79; Henry II. is reconciled to, 81.
- Geoffrey of Chartres, a contemporary of S. Bernard, 184.
- George, S., legend of his having assisted the English at the battle of Agincourt, 134.
- Gerard, Archbishop of York, yields homage to the see of Canterbury, 57.
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- Gervase, Archbishop of Rheims, crowns Philip I., King of France, at Rheims, 172.
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- Giffard, William, Bishop of Winchester, is appointed by Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to marry Henry I. and Adelais of Louvain, 60, *and note*.
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- Giles, Doctor, at the request of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, writes a book on the "Governments of Princes," 232; he dedicates it to Philip, Dauphin of France, *ib.*; Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, is said to have permitted him to found an Augustinian Friary in England, *ib.*
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- Giraldus Cambrensis, his account of the latter years of the Emperor Henry V., 38; his work "De Instructione Principum," refe-

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- Gisilia, or Gisele, sister of the Emperor Henry II., marries Stephen, King of Hungary, 17.
- Gisilia, or Gisele, wife of Count Leopold (the father of Henry III., Emperor), 19; in her, on the accession of her son, the empire is restored to the line of Charlemagne, *ib.*; she flies with her husband to a forest, on his having offended Conrad III., *ib.*; is visited by Conrad, who does not recognise her, *ib.*; gives birth to Henry while Conrad is in their hut, *ib.*
- Gisors, Henry I. holds a conference with Pope Calixtus II., at, 62.
- Glastonbury, the abbey of, founded by King Edgar, 155; who lies buried there, *ib.*
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- Grantham, given by Henry III. to Edward I. on his marriage with Eleanor of Castile, 94.
- Gravelle, John, Knight, one of the heralds sent by the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to offer battle to Henry V., 132.
- Graveshend, Richard de, Bishop of Lincoln, accompanies Henry III into France, to treat with Louis IX., 95.
- Gray, William, Bishop of Ely, extracts from the dedicatory Epistle to, prefixed by Capgrave to his "Commentary on the Creeds," 226; extracts from the dedicatory Epistle to, prefixed by Capgrave to his "Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles," 228; Capgrave alludes to the attention paid to him by, when he was sick at Rome, *ib.*
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- Green, Sir Henry, is executed at Bristol, by the order of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, 108.
- Gregory VI., Pope, obtains the Holy See on the cession of Benedict IX., 29; is made Pope, when he had, by means of bribes, restored peace, *ib.*; is soon deposed by the Emperor, *ib.*
- Gregory VII., Pope [Hildebrand], his proceedings against simony when a legate in France, 29; his quarrel with the Emperor Henry IV., who deposes him, 30; he excommunicates the Emperor, and compels him to do penance, *ib.*; at a Council held at Brixen, in the Tyrol, he is deposed, and Guipert, Bishop of Ravenna, elected Pope, *ib.*; Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, assists him, and drives Clement III. from Rome, 31.
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Greynore, Henry, is sent to Henry V. by Sir John Oldcastle, with a paper recommending the King to appropriate the Church revenues, 140; he is imprisoned by the King, *ib.*

Gualo, the Papal Legate, crowns Henry III. at Gloucester, 89; is present at Kingston upon Thames, when Louis, Dauphin of France, sues for peace, 90.

Guipert, Bishop of Ravenna, is elected Pope in the room of Gregory VII. (deposed by Henry IV., Emperor), 30.

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Caux, and takes, 130; he permits the Lord Gaucourt to depart, 131; and from thence sends a message to the Dauphin, begging him to come to terms without bloodshed, *ib.*; Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, urges the people (at Westminster) to thank God for the taking, by Henry V., of, 135; the French prepare to attack, 137; the King of France, Charles VI., having assented to the treaty of peace, treacherously suffers the French to blockade, *ib.*; it is relieved by the Duke of Bedford, who disperses the French fleet, *ib.*

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Hayles, Cistercian Abbey at (founded by Richard, King of the Romans), his son Henry is buried there, 179, *and note*.

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 Henry Plantagenet, *see* Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, and Henry IV.
 Langres, Godfrey of, *see* Godfrey of Langres.
 "Le Neve," Hardy's Edition of, referred to, *see* Bayeux, William of.
 Leeds Castle, in Kent, the Emperor Sigismund is placed there by King Henry V., 137.
 Leicester, Henry V., holds a Parliament at, 129; no tax demanded of the clergy or people, *ib.*; the King's marriage discussed, *ib.*; it is determined to send ambassadors

to France, *ib.*; Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, dies at, 190.
 Leicester, Earls of,—
 Robert Blanchmains, *see* Blanchmains, Robert.
 Simon de Montfort, *see* Montfort, Simon de.
 Leo II., Pope, 28.
 Leo IV., Pope, gives certain Relics to Charlemagne, 12.
 Leopold of Austria deserts the cause of the Emperor Henry IV., and joins his son Henry, 32.
 Leopold, Count, the father of the Emperor Henry III., 19; offends Conrad III. and flies to a forest, *ib.*; Conrad finds him there by accident, *ib.*; his son Henry is born while Conrad is in the hut, *ib.*; after the marriage of his son to Conrad's daughter, he is restored to favour, 24.
 Lewes, the battle of, 100; Henry, son of Richard, King of the Romans, fights in, 176.
 Lexham, Thomas de, a benefactor of the Austin Friary at Lynn, 160, *and note.*
 Liège, the Emperor Henry IV. retires to, and dies there, 32; is buried there, but his body cast out of the cemetery by Pope Paschal II., 33.
 Limoges, Louis IV. acknowledges the rights of Henry III. in, 96.
 Lincoln, the Diocese of, Henry I. confers the royal vill of Spalding on the Bishop of Lincoln, in consideration of Cambridge having been assigned to the new See of Ely, 58.
 Lincoln, Bishops of :—
 Remigius de Feschamp, *see* Feschamp, Remigius de.
 Robert Bloet, *see* Bloet, Robert.
 Richard de Gravesend, *see* Gravesend, Richard de.
 Lincoln, besieged by Louis of France, who is defeated there, 90.
 Lindisfarne, Bishops of,—
 S. Cuthbert, *see* Cuthbert, S.
 S. Aidan, *see* Aidan, S.

- Lionel, Duke of Clarence (son of Edward III.), is buried at Milan, 105; Henry of Lancaster, returning from Jerusalem, visits the tomb of, *ib.*; his heart carried to England, and buried in the Austin Friary at Clare, *ib.*
- Lions, the Wood of, S. Denys in, 66.
- Lira, Doctor de, quotation from his writings, 149.
- Litster, John, Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, quells the sedition of, 199; captures and executes him, 201; sends the quarters of his body to certain places in Norfolk, *ib.*
- Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, makes peace with Henry III. at Montgomery, 94; the Papal Legate seals and confirms the agreement, *ib.*
- Lollards, the, rise, during the absence of Henry V. in France, but are suppressed by John, Duke of Bedford, 140.
- Lombards, the (Berenger II. and Adalbert, Kings of Italy), conquered by Otho I., Emperor of Germany, 8.
- London, a council held at, under Henry I., in which the right of investiture by cross and ring is forbidden to laymen, 57; Henry I. and Adelais of Louvain are crowned at, 63; Prince Henry, eldest son of Henry II., is born at, 72; held by Louis, son of Philip II., King of France, against Henry III., 89; Henry III. meets the Barons in, where they determine to refer their disputes to Louis IX., King of France, 98; Simon de Montfort, leaving Rochester, advances on, 100; S. Giles' Fields at, the place of rendezvous of the adherents of Sir John Oldcastle, 128; after the victory in Agincourt, Henry V. proceeds in triumph to, 134; the Emperor Sigismund, visiting Henry V., is received by him at, and conducted to Westminster, 136; Sir John Oldcastle is executed at, 141; joy in, at the birth of Henry VI., 146; festivities at, after the marriage of John of Gaunt and Blanch of Lancaster at Reading, 191; Wat Tyler's rebellion in, 200.
- London, Tower of, *see* Tower of London.
- London, Bishops of,—
Maurice, *see* Maurice.
Michael de Northburgh, *see* Northburgh,
Michael de.
- Lopham, Dionysius, Public Notary, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113, *note*.
- Losinga, Herbert de, Bishop of Norwich, Henry of Huntingdon relies on his authority in giving his opinion as to the duration of the world's existence, 207.
- Lothaire I. (according to Martinus Polonus), successor to Henry I. (the Fowler), 14.
- Lothaire II. (the Saxon), Emperor, attends (while Duke of Saxony) the wedding of the Emperor Henry V. in a pauper's dress, 37.
- Lothaire I., King of France, succeeds Louis IV., 174; is succeeded by Louis V., *ib.*
- Louis of Aquitaine marries the daughter of Otho I., Duke of Saxony, 8.
- Louis III. of Germany, his death, 8; he is succeeded by Otho I., Duke of Saxony, who refuses the honour, *ib.*; his crown descends to Conrad I., Duke of Franconia, *ib.*
- Louis I., Emperor of the West, son of Charlemagne, 174.
- Louis I., King of France, *see* Louis I., Emperor.
- Louis III., King of France, is succeeded by Charles the Simple, 174.
- Louis IV., King of France, is succeeded by Lothaire I., 174.
- Louis V., King of France, is succeeded by Hugh Capet, 174; termination of the Carolingian Dynasty, *ib.*
- Louis VI., King of France, is defeated by Henry I. at the battle of Brenville, 61; Henry I. makes peace with him on condition that his son, Prince William, should have undisputed possession of Normandy, 62; Capgrave gives some account of his brother Henry, *see* Henry, Archbishop of Sens.

Louis VII., King of France, Eleanor, his divorced Queen, marries Henry II., King of England, 71; he is compelled to submit to her second husband obtaining Aquitaine, *ib.*; his daughter, Margaret, marries Henry, eldest son of Henry II., King of England, 76; he assists the sons of Henry II. in their rebellion against their father, 79, 80.

Louis VIII., King of France (before his accession) claims the crown of England, against Henry III., 88; holds London and the surrounding country, 89; is acknowledged by the English Barons, *ib.*; becomes unpopular, and is deserted by many of the Barons, 90; refuses to acknowledge Henry III., and marches against Lincoln, *ib.*; is repulsed with great loss, *ib.*; meets King Henry near Kingston-upon-Thames, and sues for peace, 91; promises to persuade his father to give up to Henry III. the English possessions in France, *ib.*; engages to do so himself on his own accession, and departs, *ib.*

Louis IX., King of France (called the Saint), resists the invasion of Henry III., and seeks a five years' truce, 93; makes an agreement to pay an annual tribute to Henry III. in exchange for certain territorial rights in France, 96; confirms the King of England's rights in Bordeaux, Bayonne, Agen, &c., *ib.*; promises to aid Henry III. in his attempt to resist the Provisions of Oxford, 97; the dispute between Henry III. and his Barons is referred to, 99; Henry III. repairs to the Court of, *ib.*; the Barons also send delegates from their own number to, *ib.*; he decides in favour of Henry III., and abrogates the Provisions of Oxford, *ib.*; his good deeds, 150; Henry de Beaumont descended from, 197.

Louvain, Adclais of, *see* Adclais of Louvain.

Lucas, William, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113.

Lucius III., Pope, sends letters by Eraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Henry II. of England, and requests his assistance against the Saracens, 83.

Lynn, Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby), on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, embarks near, 104; Capgrave records that he was present when the Princess Philippa, about to be married to Eric IX., embarked at, 117; Henry VI. visits the Austin Friary at, 158; he promises to be its patron, *ib.*; Capgrave gives an account of its foundation and its state in his time, 159, *et seq.*; on the execution of Litster, one of the quarters of his body is sent by Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, to, 201.

M.

Magdeburgh, Henry, Archbishop of, consecrated by Ruthard, Archbishop of Mayence, 31.

Maine, on the death of his father (Geoffrey Plantagenet), Henry II. takes possession of his inheritance of Anjou and, 71; Prince Henry, son of Henry II., is buried in, 82; Henry II. keeps it in subjection throughout his reign, 86; Henry III. gives up his rights in, and in other of his French possessions, to Louis IX. in exchange for an annual tribute, 96.

Malcolm III., King of Scotland, Maud, the daughter of, is married to Henry I. of England, 57.

Manuel I., Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, is represented at the great congress of foreign ambassadors held at Westminster by Henry II., 81.

Mareconurus [C.C.C. Marcomirns], an early Frank chief, 172; he is succeeded by his son Pharamund, *ib.*

Margaret, wife of Tancred, King of Sicily, is carried prisoner into Germany by the Emperor Henry VI., 43.

Margaret, wife of Malcolm III., King of

- Scotland, mother of Maud, Queen of Henry I., 57.
- Margaret, daughter of Louis VII., King of France, marries Prince Henry, eldest son of Henry I., King of England, 76.
- Margaret, the Princess, daughter of Henry III., is born in Gasconne, 93.
- Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René (titular King of Sicily), married to Henry VI., King of England, 156.
- Markham, Sir John, Justice, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113, *note*.
- Marshall, William, Earl of Pembroke, is present at the treaty made between Henry III. and Louis, Dauphin of France, at Kingston-upon-Thames, 90.
- Martin V. elected Pope, 141.
- Martin, S., the resignation and devotion of, 185.
- Mary, the Virgin, Pope Leo IV. gives a relic of, to Charlemagne, 12.
- Mary de Bohun, Queen of Henry IV., daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, her children, 116.
- Masham, Henry, Lord Scrope, of, *see* Scrope, Henry, Lord (of Masham).
- Matilda, wife of the Emperor Henry I., 8.
- Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry II. King of England, marries Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, 87.
- Maud, the daughter of Henry I. of England, marries the Emperor Henry V., 37; is divorced by him, 39; marries Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, 64; visits her father, *ib.*; gives birth to Henry II., *ib.*; Henry I. claims the allegiance of his subjects for, *ib.*; on Stephen's usurpation, she invades England, 69; obtains the assistance of her brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, 70; commits her son to the care of David I., King of Scotland, *ib.*; her husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, dies, *ib.*
- Maud, daughter of Malcolm III., King of Scotland, is married to Henry I. of England, 57; her death, 60.
- Maud, the daughter of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, marries William V., Duke of Holland and Zealand, 191.
- Maurice, Bishop of London, crowns Henry I. in the absence of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 57.
- Maxentius, victory of Constantine over the usurper, 151.
- Mayence, Henry III., the Emperor, keeps Whitsuntide at, 25; contention between the Archbishop of, and the Abbot of Fulda, 26; the Emperor answers the voice of ill omen in the Church, *ib.*; the Emperor Henry IV. publicly commits the empire to his son, Henry V., at, 31; at a Council held there, the Emperor Henry IV. is declared to be still excommunicate, and he is forced to resign the empire to his son, 32; Henry VI., Emperor, is crowned at, *ib.*; the Emperor Henry V. marries Maud, the daughter of Henry I., King of England, at, 37; Lothaire, Duke of Saxony (afterwards Emperor), comes to the wedding dressed as a pauper, *ib.*
- Mayence, Archbishops of, —
Bardo, *see* Bardo.
Albert, *see* Albert.
Ruthard, *see* Ruthard.
- "Mercy, Gramercy," a book so called, written by Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, 190; Capgrave, in his life of the Duke, gives some account of it, *ib.*; *see* in the Glossary to the Latin text, "Gramercy."
- Merton, Walter de (Bishop of Rochester), is made Chancellor by Henry III., 97.
- Metz, S. Arnulphus, son of Arnold, is made Bishop of, 174.
- Milan, Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby), returning from Jerusalem, visits the Duke of, at, 105.
- Milan, Duke of, —
John Galeas, *see* Galeas, John.
- Millington, William, appointed by Henry VI. the first Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 154.
- Milo, de Gloucester, created Earl of Hereford,

- 192, *note*; Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, descended from, *ib.*
- Milo I., Bishop of Morigny, 184.
- Montacute, William de, Earl of Salisbury, companion in arms of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, 187.
- Montferrat, Conrad, Marquis of, Henry II., Count of Champagne, marries the daughter of, 181, *note*.
- Montfort, Simon de, Earl of Leicester, his sons Simon and Peter are taken at Northampton, 99, 100; lays siege to Rochester, but, on the advance of the King's army, proceeds to London, 100.
- Montfort, Simon de, son of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and Guy, his brother, conspire to slay Henry, son of Richard, King of the Romans, in a church at Viterbo, 178.
- Montfort, Guy de, *see* Montfort, Simon de, son of Simon, Earl of Leicester.
- Montfort, John de, Bretagne rebels against, but is subdued by Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, 188; he carries Charles de Blois prisoner to England, *ib.*
- Montgomery, Henry III. and Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, make peace at, 94; the legate Ottobon confirms their treaty there, *ib.*
- Montjui, Henry V., Emperor, crosses the Pyrenees at, 35.
- Morigny, Milo I., bishop of, 184.
- Morley, Thomas de, meets Henry le Despenser near Cambridge, and delivers up some of the ringleaders of Litster's rebellion to him, 199, and *note*.
- Moroveus, King of France, succeeds Clodion, 172; is succeeded by his son Childeric I., 173.
- Mortaigne, William, Earl of, accompanies Robert, Duke of Normandy, to Tenechebray, 55; is taken prisoner there, *ib.*; is carried to England with Robert, by Henry I., who imprisons them both, 56.
- Mowbray, Thomas, Earl of Nottingham, opposes Richard II., 103.

N.

- Naples, the Emperor Henry VI. invades the kingdom of Sicily, and conquers the country as far as to, 43; where his army is attacked by a pestilence so violent that he is compelled to return, *ib.*; he marries there Constance, the daughter of Tancred, King of Sicily, *ib.*
- Navarre, King of,—
Sancho VI. (called the Wise), *see* Sancho VI.
- Navy, the English, Capgrave deplores its decline, 155; the reproach of the "ship" and the "sheep" on the coins, 156; "the wooden walls of England," *ib.*
- Nazianzen, Gregory, *see* Gregory Nazianzen.
- Neve, le, Hardy's edition of the "Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" of, *see* Bayeux, William of.
- Nevill, Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 112, and *note*, 113, *note*.
- Newmarch, Adam de, and others, represent the Barons of England before Louis IX. in the matter of the Provisions of Oxford, 99.
- Nice, the Council of, Constantine present at, 152.
- Nicholas, S., the day of, reflections on the birth of Henry VI. on, 144.
- Nicholas, Archdeacon of Cambridge, 206.
- Nicholas, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, 206.
- Nicholas, Archdeacon of Hertford, 206.
- Niger of Russia proclaims war against Henry I. (of Germany), 12; he is defeated, 13.
- Noah, the window in the ark of, compared to the wound in the side of Christ, 11.
- Norbury, John, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113.
- Normandy, Robert, Duke of, *see* Robert, Duke of Normandy.
- Normandy, Robert, the eldest son of the Conqueror, having compromised with William Rufus his claim to the English crown, returns to, 53; after the conference at North-

ampton, he again returns into, 54; he takes certain towns and castles, and drives the adherents of Henry I. out of, *ib.*; Henry I. invades, and lays siege to Tenechebray, 55; a battle is fought, in which Robert is taken prisoner, 56; Henry I. settles his affairs in, and returns to England, 57; Henry I. is crowned by Maurice, Bishop of London, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, being in, *ib.*; Henry I. goes into, and dies there, 65; Henry II. inherits, and keeps in subjection, 86; the men of, urge Henry III. to visit his foreign possessions, 92; Henry III. yields up his rights in, to Louis IX., together with other of his lands in France, in exchange for an annual tribute, 96; Henry V. collects his troops at Southampton, about to invade, 137, 140; after the Duke of Bedford's victory at La Hogue, he passes over into, 140; account of the conquests of Henry V. in, 142.

Normandy, Henry II., on the death of his father, abandons the title of Count, and proclaims himself Duke of, 71.

North Walsham (Co. Norfolk), Litster the rebel, at, 200; Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, follows him thither, 201.

Northampton, Robert, Duke of Normandy, holds a conference with his brother at, when their quarrel is renewed, 54; the Barons hold it against Henry III., but are soon dispossessed by him, 99.

Northampton, Earl of,—

William de Bohun, *see* Bohun, William de.

Northausen, Ruthard, Archbishop of Mayence, at, excommunicates the Emperor Henry IV., and abets his son's rebellion, 31.

Northburgh, Michael de, Prebendary of St. Paul's, accompanies Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, to Pope Innocent II., to treat for peace between England and France, 189; he is afterwards made Bishop of London, *ib.*

Northumberland, Earl of,—

Henry Percy, *see* Percy, Henry.

Norway, King of,—

Eric XIII., *see* Eric IX. of Denmark, (XIII. of Norway.)

Norwich, John Litster's rebellion at, 200; it is quelled by Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, *ib.*; on the execution of Litster, one of the quarters of his body is sent to, 201; Henry le Despenser is buried at, 204.

Norwich, Bishops of,—

Herbert, de Losinga, *see* Losinga, Herbert de.

William Bateman, *see* Bateman, William.

Henry le Despenser, *see* Henry le Despenser.

Richard Courtenay, *see* Courtenay, Richard.

Nottingham, Earl of,—

Thomas Mowbray, *see* Mowbray, Thomas.

O.

Obols (half-pennies), ordered by Henry I. of England to be made round, 58.

Oldcastle, John, Lord Cobham, conspires against Henry V., 125; he upholds the doctrines of John Wiclif, *ib.*; he is brought before the King, but refuses to yield, 127; he is brought before a Council of Bishops when he defends his tenets, *ib.*; he is publicly branded with heresy by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, 127; the King commits him to the Tower, 128; he escapes and plots against the King's life, *ib.*; his plans being defeated, he is again captured, *ib.*; he publishes seditious bills, in one of which he recommends the King to appropriate the property of the Church, 140; sends it to the King by one Henry Greyndore, *ib.*; is captured and con-

- demned to death, 141 ; an account of his tenets, *ib.* ; he is executed in London, *ib.* ; is said to have claimed to be Elias, 142 ; he is exhorted by the Duke of Bedford to confess his errors which he refuses to do, *ib.* ; account of his execution, *ib.*
- Omer, S., Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, is sent as a hostage to, while John, Duke of Burgundy, holds a conference with Henry V. at Calais, 139.
- Orkney Islands, the, subject to King Henry II., 86.
- Orleans, Charles, Duke of, opposes Henry V. on his march from Harfleur, and offers battle, 132.
- Ostia, Bishop of,—
Lambert, *see* Lambert.
- Otho, son of Athelstan, King of England, 8.
- Otho I., Duke of Saxony, father of Henry I. (the Fowler), 8 ; subdues the Hungarians and others, *ib.* ; his children, *ib.* ; elected to the Empire on the death of Louis III., *ib.* ; he declines the imperial throne, *ib.*
- Otho I. (the Great), Emperor of Germany, 8, 14 ; he revenges on Boleslas I., Duke of Bohemia, the murder of Wenceslas I., 167.
- Otho II. (the Bloody), Emperor of Germany, 14.
- Otho III., Emperor of Germany, 14 ; his death, *ib.* ; he is succeeded by Henry II. (the Lambe), *ib.*
- Otho, the Legate, baptizes Prince Edward, son of Henry III., 93.
- Ottobon, the Legate, makes peace between Henry III. and Llewellyn of Wales, 94 ; seals the agreement made between them, and confirms it in the name of Pope Alexander IV., *ib.*
- Ovid, quotation from the "Amores" of, 66, *and note.*
- Owen Glyndwr, *see* Glyndwr, Owen.
- Oxford, Provisions of, Henry III. resolves to resist the, 96 ; after a discussion in London, the matter is referred to Louis IX., King of France, 99 ; who decides in Henry's favour, and abrogates the Provisions of, *ib.* ; Henry III. continually visits the city of, notwithstanding the curse of S. Frideswide, *ib.* ; Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, gives one hundred and thirty-five MSS. to the University of, 225, 226.
- P.
- Pains de (*de Paganis*) Hugues, one of the founders of the order of Knights Templars, 182.
- Pallas, the legend of the discovery at Rome, of the uncorrupt body of a giant called, 25.
- Pannonia invaded by the Emperor Henry III., 25 ; invaded, in defence of Peter the German, against Andrew I. by the Emperor Henry IV., 28 ; is ravaged by Henry IV., who conquers Andrew I., *ib.* ; Sygambria, on the borders of, 172.
- Paris, reference to the coronation of Henry VI., at, 5, 147.
- Parliament, Rolls of, quoted, 110, *note*, 113, *note.*
- Paschal II. Pope, commands the body of the Emperor Henry IV. to be disinterred at Liège, 32, 33 ; disputes between him and the Emperor Henry V., 34 ; receives the Emperor Henry V. at Rome, 35 ; is imprisoned by the Emperor, *ib.* ; is afterwards reconciled to him, 36 ; takes the part of Thurstan, Archbishop of York, on his deprivation for refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 58 ; discusses this matter with Henry I. at Rheims, 59 ; procures the restoration of Thurstan, *ib.*
- Paul's, S., London, Michael Northburgh, formerly Prebendary of, *see* Northburgh, Michael, Bishop of London.
- Pavia, Henry, of Lancaster (Earl of Derby), returning from Jerusalem, is entertained at, 105.

- Pays du Caux, Henry V., invading France, lands at, 130.
- Pembroke, Earls of,—
William Marshall, *see* Marshall, William.
Humphrey Plantagenet, *see* Humphrey Plantagenet.
- Penshurst, the manor of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, at; the Duke receives from Capgrave the gift of his "Commentary on the Book of Genesis" there, 222.
- Pepin, King of France, 174; is succeeded by his son, Charlemagne, *ib.*
- Perche, the Count of, is taken at Lincoln, on the defeat of Louis, Dauphin of France, by the army of Henry III., 90.
- Percy, Thomas, Earl of Worcester, Richard II. is charged with causing a quarrel between Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and, 110; his treacherous rebellion against Henry IV., 118.
- Percy, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 112, 113, *note*; rebels against Henry IV., 118; is defeated at Shrewsbury; *ib.*
- Perigueux, Louis IX. acknowledges the rights of Henry III. in, 96.
- Peter, S., Church of, at Antioch, the Sacred Spear is found in, 11.
- Peter the German, King of Hungary, is restored to his throne by Henry III. (the Emperor), 25; is driven from his Kingdom by Andrew I., and deprived of sight, 27; the Emperor, Henry IV., makes a vain attempt to restore him, *ib.*
- Peter of Blois, the letter of, to Henry II., King of England, on the death of Prince Henry, 82, *and note*.
- Peterborough, the Abbey of, founded by Edgar, 155.
- Pharamund, an early Frank chief, the son of Marconurus, 172; he is succeeded by his son, Clodion, *ib.*
- Philip I. (l'Amoureux), King of France, his father, Henry I., resigns the crown to him, 172; he is crowned at Rheims by Gervase, Archbishop of Rheims, *ib.*; during his childhood, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, is appointed to be Regent, *ib.*; becomes a monk, 174.
- Philip II., King of France, Louis, son of, opposes Henry III., King of England, *see* Louis VIII., King of France; he accompanies Richard I. to the Crusade, 157; his sister, Mary, the Mother of Henry II., Count of Champagne, 180.
- Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, is represented at the great Congress of foreign ambassadors held at Westminster by Henry II., 81.
- Philippa, daughter of Henry IV., of England, marries Eric IX., of Denmark, XIII. of Norway, 115; Capgrave sees her embark at Lynn, *ib.*
- Phocas, the Emperor, discovery of the seamless coat of CHRIST in his time, 75.
- Pilton, William, executor of Richard Cosyn, a benefactor of the Austin Friary at Lynn, 160, *note*.
- Pingyve, Henry IV., Emperor, has an interview with his son Henry at, 32.
- Plantagenet, Geoffrey, *see* Geoffrey Plantagenet.
- Po, the river, Henry V., the Emperor, on his expedition into Italy, reviews his army on the banks of, 35.
- Poitou, and Aquitaine, William, Count of, *see* William.
- Poitou, Eleanor, Queen of Henry II., Countess of, 71; Henry II. inherits and keeps it in subjection, 72; Henry III. resigns his rights in, to Louis IX., in exchange for an annual tribute, 96.
- Poland, Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby), on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, passes through, 105.
- Pole, Michael de la, Earl of Suffolk, dies at Harfleur, 132.
- Pole, Michael de la, Earl of Suffolk, [5th (3rd) Earl,] is slain at Agincourt, 133.

Pontigny, Henry II., King of England, procures the removal of Thomas Becket from, 77.

Pontremoli, taken by the Emperor Henry V., 35.

Popes of Rome, *see* Rome, Popes of.

Portsmouth, Robert, Duke of Normandy, invades England, and lands at, 54; the French blockade, 137.

Powys, the Lord of, captures Sir John Oldcastle, 141.

Prologues, extracts from the, to —

The "Nova Legenda Angliæ," 223.

Capgrave "On the Creeds," 226.

Capgrave "On the Acts," 227.

Capgrave "On Genesis," 229.

Provence, Raymond V., Count of, *see* Raymond V., Count of Provence.

Provence, Beatrice, Countess of, *see* Beatrice, Countess of Provence.

Provence, Sanchia, sister of Eleanor of, marries Richard, the King of the Romans, 176.

Provence, Eleanor of, *see* Eleanor, daughter of Raymond V., Count of Provence.

Provisions of Oxford, the, *see* Oxford, the Provisions of.

Prussia, Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby), enters, and gains a victory over the infidels, 104; going to Jerusalem, he a second time enters, 105; and goes from thence into Hungary, *ib.*; allusion to the battles of Henry, Earl of Derby (grandfather of Henry IV.), in, 186.

Pyrenees, the, Henry V., Emperor, crosses, at Monjui, 35; Henry II. of England retains his French possessions as far as, 86.

Q.

Quincy, Saier de, first Earl of Winchester, accompanies Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, on his last pilgrimage to the Holy Places, 193.

Quinzaine of Easter, the, explained, 98, *note*.

R.

Ralph (or Rodolphus), Archbishop of Canterbury, Thurstan, Archbishop of York, refuses to do homage to, 58; Pope Paschal II. promises to respect the rights of, but decides in favour of Thurstan, 59.

Ralph of Chichester, *i. e.* Cirencester, Richard of, *q. v.*

Ralph, Flambard, Bishop of Durham, *see* Flambard, Ralph.

Ramston, Sir Thomas, is present in the Tower at the abdication of Richard II., 113.

Ratisbon, Henry V. at, rebels against his father, 31.

Ravenna, Guipert, Bishop of, *see* Guipert, Bishop of Ravenna.

Raymond V., Count of Provence, his daughter Eleanor is married to Henry III. of England, 92; his daughter Sanchia is married to Richard, King of the Romans, 176.

Reading, the Abbey of, founded by Henry I., 64; he places in it the relics brought by his daughter Maud, *ib.*; the corpse of Henry I. is buried in, 68; John of Gaunt is married to Blanch, daughter of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, at, 191; games are held there afterwards, *ib.*

Regnal years of the Emperors and Kings, 235, *et seq.*

Relics of the Saints, their removal from place to place, *see* Saints.

Remigius, de Feschamp, Bishop of Lincoln, *see* Feschamp, Remigius de.

Remigius, S., baptizes Clovis I., King of the Franks, 173.

René, titular King of Sicily, Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of, marries Henry VI., King of England, 156.

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